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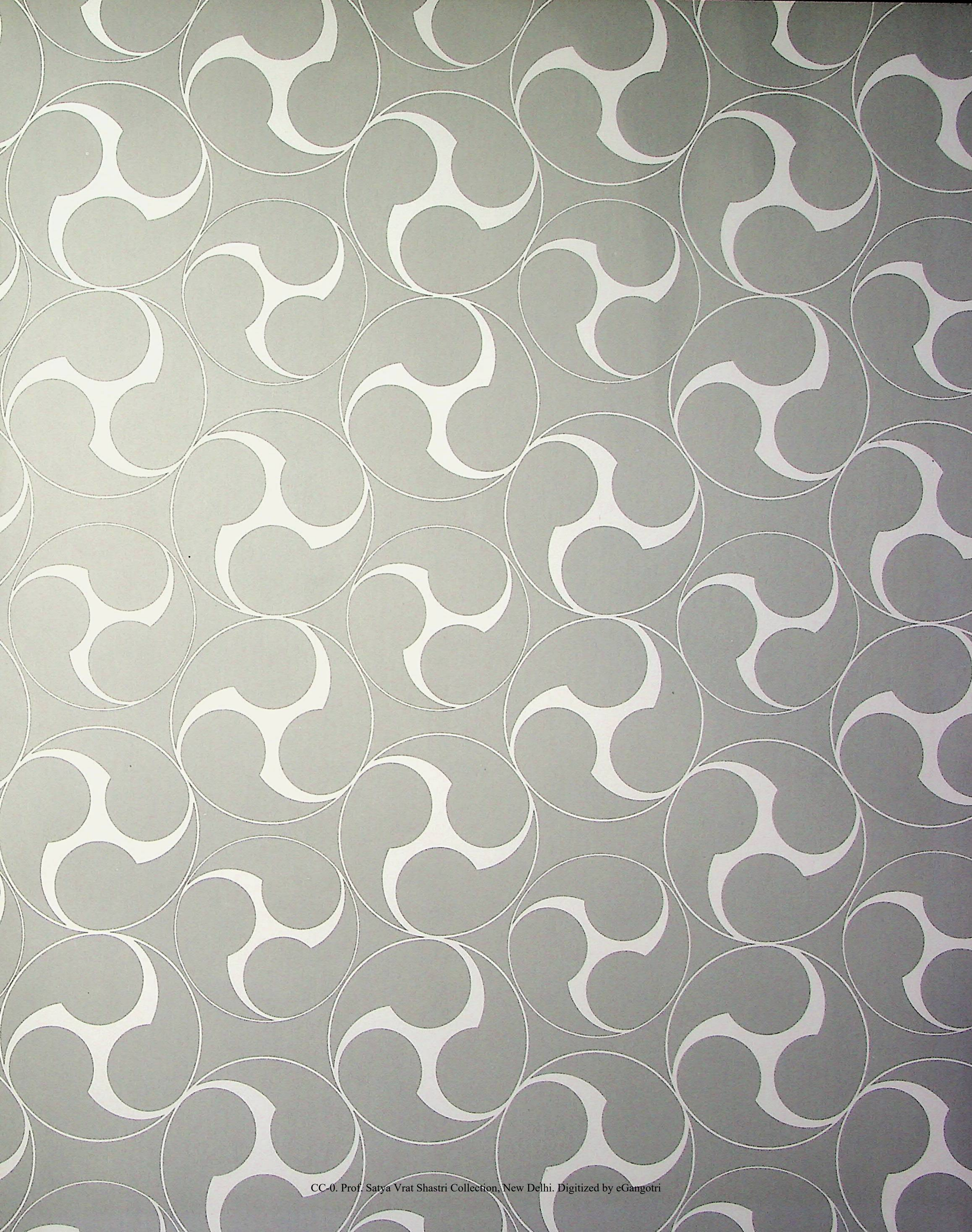
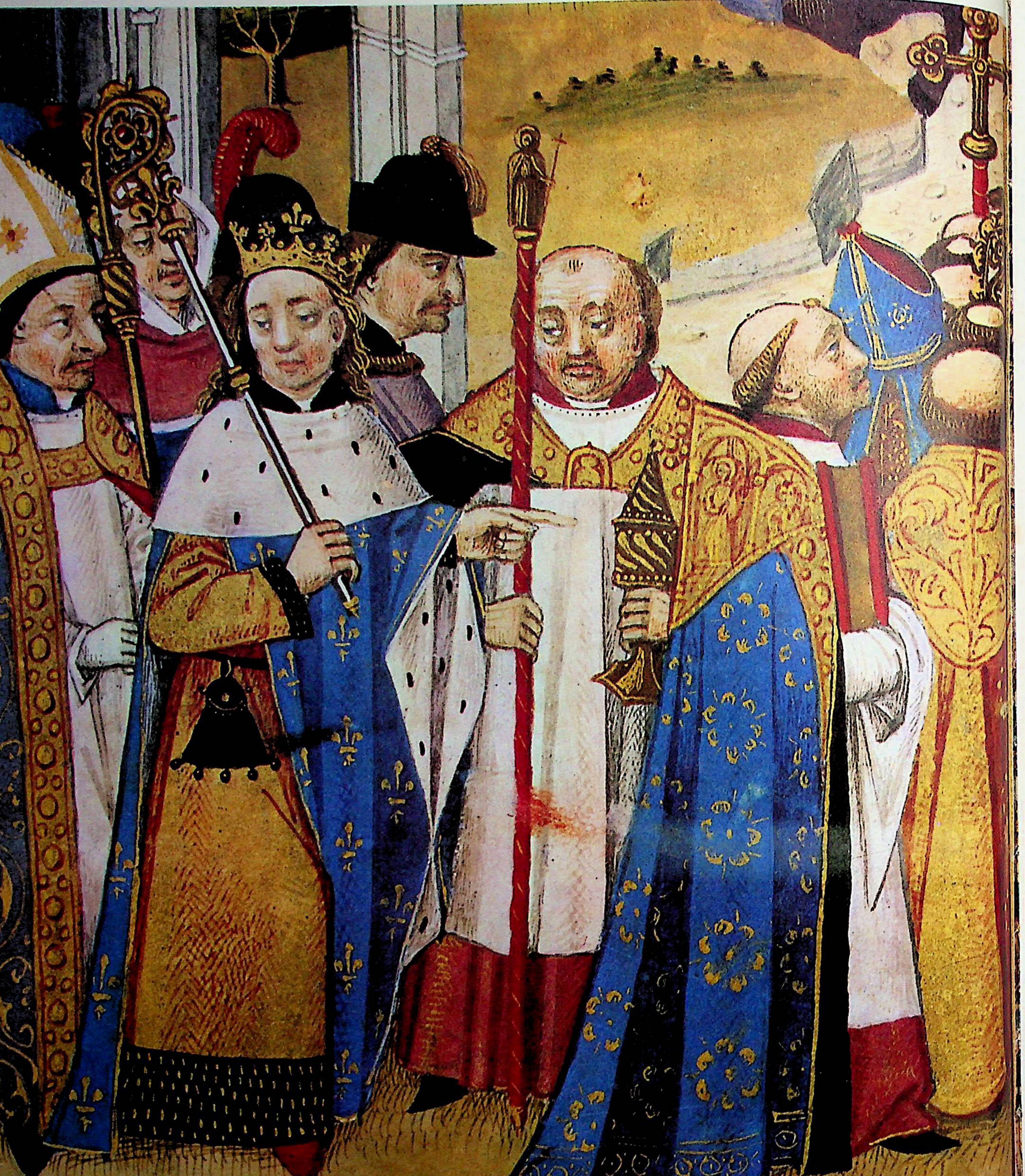


The Hamlyn History
of the World in Colour
Volume Five

THE AGE OF FEUDALISM



The Hamlyn History
of the World in Colour
Volume Five

THE AGE OF FEUDALISM

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Introduction

By J. C. HOLT

'The western world', 'western ideals', 'the western way of life': these are common enough phrases in the political jargon of the twentieth century. Behind them lie three great historical developments: the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which determined the economic growth of the west; the Renaissance and Reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which established its frame of mind; and feudalism. To many this last may seem surprising, for 'feudal' and 'feudalism' have come to stand for outworn and moss-grown antiquity; for useless, even oppressive institutions. Yet the age of feudalism was not like this. It was constructive, not restrictive. It was the age in which western Europe was founded, and the foundation of western Europe is the subject of this volume.

In the last years of the Roman Empire, in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., western Europe was simply part of a Mediterranean world which included the coast of North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor, and stretched to the mouth of the Danube and to the Caucasus. Its twin political centres were Rome and Constantinople. Its economic life was centred on North Africa, the eastern Mediterranean and the Bosporus. The western provinces, important though some of them were, lay near or on the fringe of a vast and cumbersome society. Gaul was less important than Greece and Spain scarcely matched Syria. From the East the empire derived its thought, its art and finally, with the spread of Christianity, its religion.

By the end of the thirteenth century, where this volume ends, this world had undergone drastic change. Italy was still part of western Europe and provided an important strand of continuity with ancient Rome and the old Mediterranean civilisations. Likewise, Mediterranean trade was still vital to the European economy. However, the lands north of the Alps were now no longer peripheral. Indeed, many of the most characteristic features of western civilisation were now to be found, not in Italy, but in Germany, England, and the Netherlands, and, most important of all, in France. Western Europe, as it is now understood, had taken shape.

This new Europe was not created at any one time or by any one circumstance. The unity of the Mediterranean world was broken by the settlement of Germanic tribes from across the Rhine and Danube in the western provinces of the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries and by the Arab conquest of the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean in the seventh century. Henceforth, the old Roman Empire was confined to a decreasing sphere of influence in the eastern Mediterranean. In the West imperial government was replaced by a number of tribal kingdoms, all of which were based on a mixture of Roman and Germanic civilisation. The East was Greek in speech and Hellenistic in thought. The West was to a varying degree Latin in its language and intellectual inheritance from the Roman world.

These great movements of population and shifts in power created the basic political geography for the growth of western Europe. They did not of themselves create a thriving society. This was established slowly. One element in it was provided by the steady colonisation of new land both within the old imperial provinces and in Germany and central Europe. Slowly at first, more quickly after 1000 A.D., the population increased and the standard of living improved. The pattern of rural settlement in villages and hamlets which had been established by 1300 has largely survived to our own day: our villages are medieval villages. At the same time trade and wealth expanded northwards. Great new economic centres and trading links were established in the Rhineland, the Baltic, the fairs of Champagne and the valleys of the Seine, the Loire and the Scheldt. New staple items of trade, such as English wool, Flemish cloth and Baltic furs, rivalled the old luxury trade of the Mediterranean basin. The western provinces of the Roman Empire had been drained of precious metals by an adverse balance of trade with the East. The newly rich countries of northern and western Europe expressed their independence in their reliance on silver currencies of local manufacture rather than the gold which continued in use in the the Mediterranean.

This was accompanied by the establishment of the states which have dominated the history of western Europe: Germany, France, England, the Spanish monarchies and the Baltic kingdoms. These new states established the conditions of stability necessary for economic expansion. They in turn fed upon this increasing wealth to support the burden of administration at home and aggression abroad. They were competitive and quarrelsome. The Spanish monarchies were founded on the ruins of the power of the Moors. The German kings and dukes pressed eastwards from their original centre of power on the Rhine over the Elbe to the Oder. From the Baltic states in the north Viking adventurers sailed west to Iceland, Greenland and finally to America. England, at first the prey of the Vikings and the Normans, subsequently turned to the conquest of the Welsh, the Irish and the Scots.

However, it was above all in the south that this aggression was concentrated. Here was the lure of the old Mediterranean world. Here men's eyes turned to Rome as the centre of Christendom. Here, moreover, there were rich pickings: the luxury trade with the east, and the wealth of Venice, Milan and the other towns of northern Italy. The kings of Germany, as Holy Roman emperors, waged numerous campaigns for the control of Italy. Norman adventurers arrived to found a well-organised, wealthy and aggressive kingdom in southern Italy and Sicily. Men from every province of western Europe came to the Mediterranean to visit the holy places and to fight in the Crusades.

This was also the first great age of European expansion. Within 100 years of Leif Ericsson's voyage to America Frankish and Norman knights were establishing their rule at Antioch and over the Euphrates at Edessa. Not all these efforts were successful. The Crusader states, in particular, did not last; but it was through this expansion that western Europe became conscious of its own identity. The fight against the Saracen in the Holy Land or against the Slav in central Europe was less important than the association, and later the conflict, with the remnant of the old empire—the Byzantine Empire based on Constantinople. The eastern and western Churches were separated, permanently as it proved, by the Great Schism of 1054. East and West entered upon an uneasy partnership in the First Crusade of 1095–99. The partnership was finally dissolved when the crusaders turned on Constantinople and sacked it in the Fourth Crusade of 1204. The Byzantine Empire, an object of awe, even of reverence, a century earlier, was now carved up for the benefit of the leaders of the Crusade. The West stood assertive and triumphant. It had established its leadership of the Christian world.

The abundance of energy which went into this expansion was not all destructive. At the fringes it is now represented by the poverty-stricken archaeological remains of the Viking settlements on the west coast of Greenland and by the vacant walls of the crusader castles in Syria. However, in western Europe itself it established much of the framework of our life today. The age of feudalism has bequeathed to us our languages, to a great degree our national and political boundaries (and even the wars which have arisen over them), very frequently our units of local government (the English counties or the German and Swiss provinces) and in many countries the framework of our law. It has left us not only its churches, but its dioceses and its parishes. It has, moreover, left much that can be enjoyed. No later age has excelled the architecture of the great cathedral and monastic churches of the Romanesque and Gothic styles. Few later poets have matched the epic quality of the *Song of Roland.*

To some extent these are fossil remains. We no longer speak the language of Shakespeare, still less that of Chaucer. It may be argued that, if medieval institutions have survived, this is because they have been adjusted to our purposes; their origins no longer matter. Yet the real importance of the age of feudalism lies not so much in these survivals as in the scope which it gave to human endeavour. The lot of the medieval serf was hard, but he was not a slave. His condition was better and his energies better applied than those of the agrarian worker of the Roman Empire. The feudal baron often stood for anarchy and lawlessness, but it was men of this class who organised the colonisation of new land, who founded ports and chartered towns, and who acted as the patrons and benefactors of the new monastic orders.

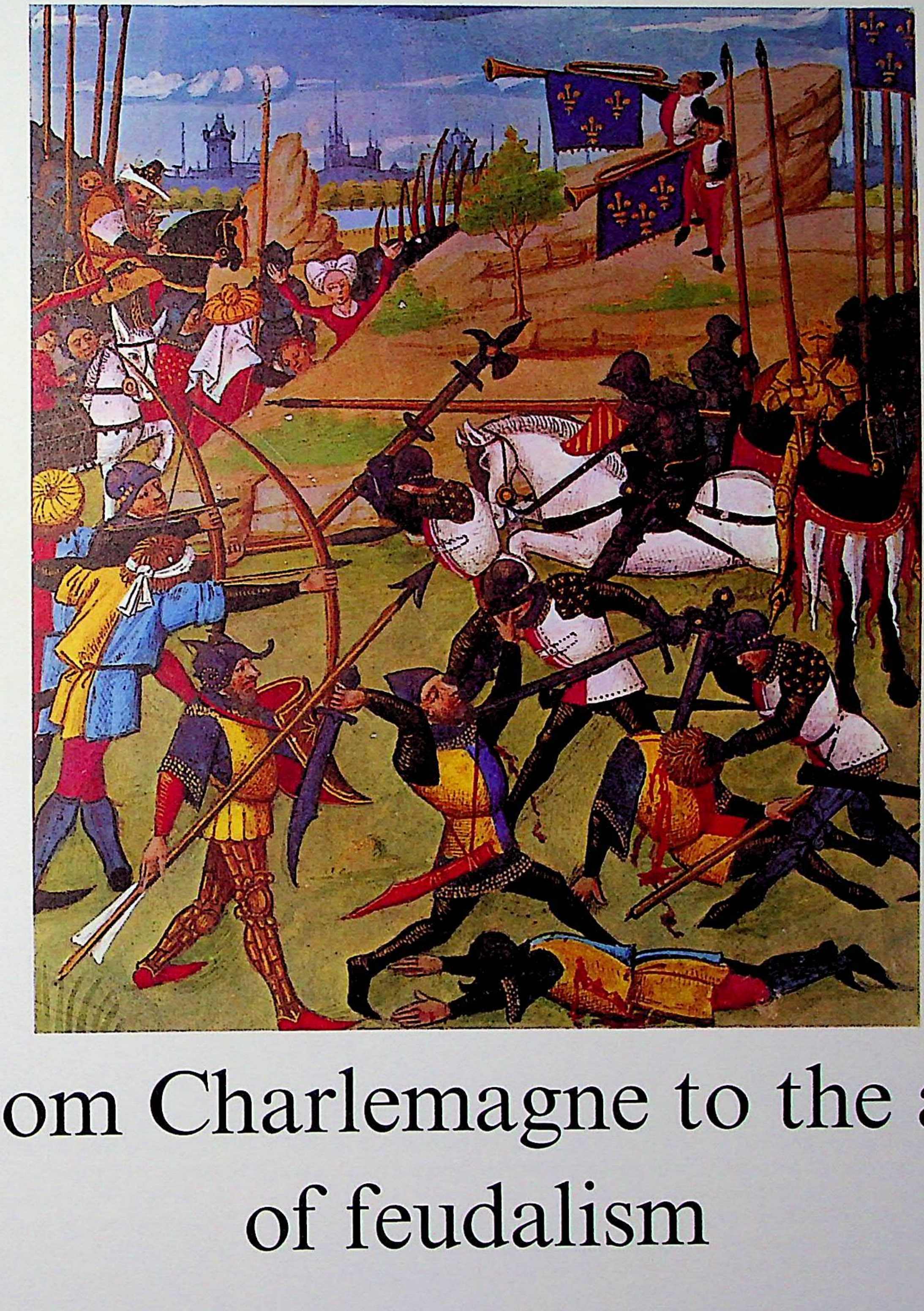
Our chief inheritance from this age is in feudalism itself. Feudal society was hierarchical. It attached specific functions to particular social grades: the priest prayed, the knight fought and the peasant ploughed. However, it also attached an idea of rights to this restrictive social doctrine, so that a knight, a priest and even a peasant might protest in defence of the rights associated with their status. Although the peasant rarely had the power or opportunity to do this openly or effectively, the knight or priest could act and frequently did so. That political activity which now seems so anarchical was the practical expression of an attempt to form a human society in which individuals might appeal to rights as well as perform functions. These rights were not yet viewed as individual, still less as natural rights. They were regarded rather as property—as privileges which the holder might defend in a court of law or on the field of battle.

From feudal privileges to the modern idea of individual rights is a long road which has cost much thought and many lives. Nevertheless, the two concepts are linked and it is no accident that they both found their clearest expression in western Europe.

THE FRANKISH EMPIRE, ENGLAND AND THE EAST

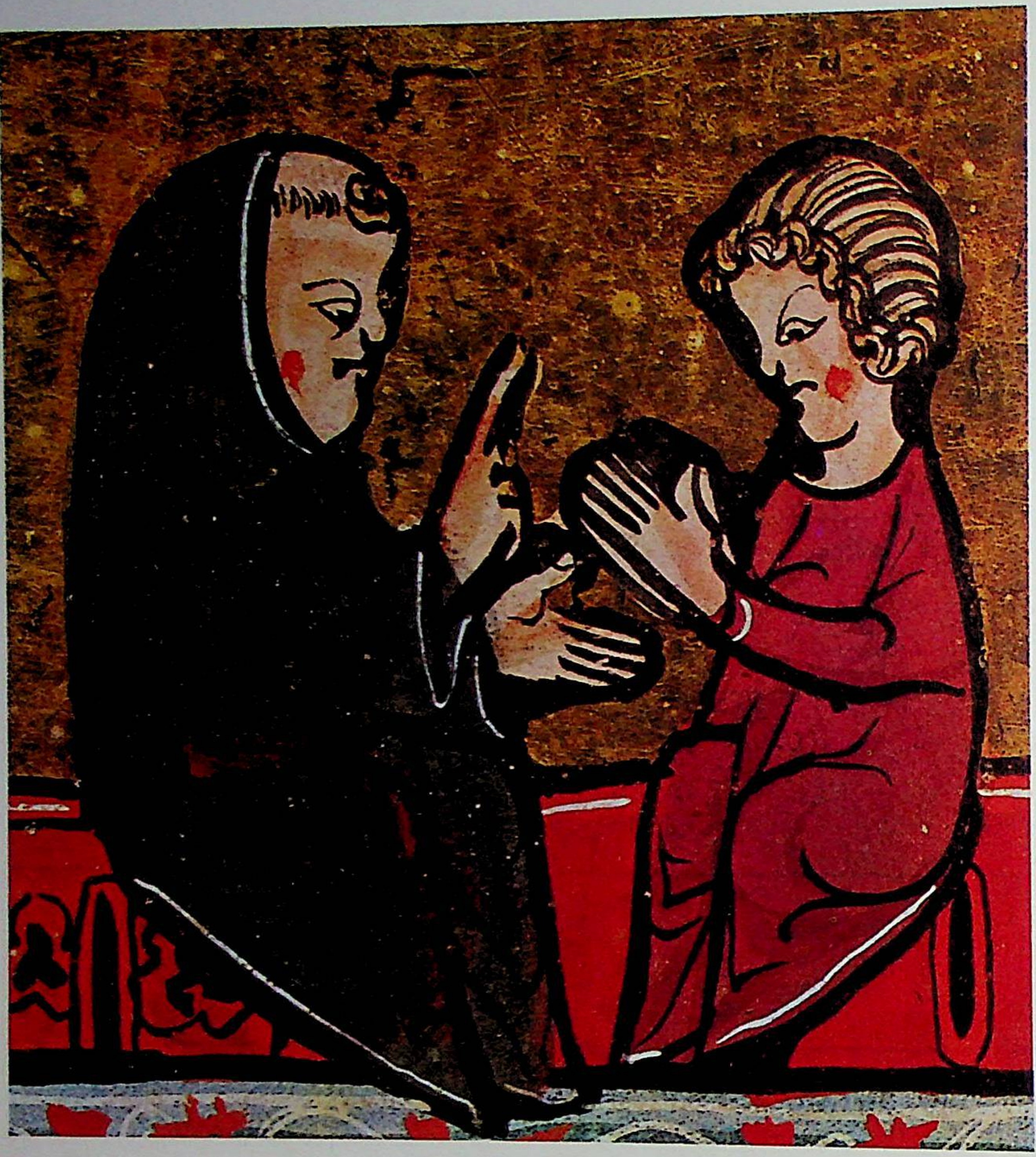
	The Frankish Empire		England	Byzantium and Islam
600 700	Dagobert I (628–639) Decline of the Merovingians Pepin of Herstal: mayor of Austrasia (679); ruler of the Franks (687–714)		Spread of Christianity St Augustine founds see of Canterbury (602) Edwin of Deira, king of Northumbria (617–33) Synod of Whitby (664) Venerable Bede (c. 673–735)	Death of Mohammed (632) Arab conquest of Persia Constantine IV (668–85)
800	Charles Martel (715–41) Pepin the Short (751–68) founds the Carolingian dynasty Charlemagne king of the Franks (768–814) Charlemagne Emperor of the West (800)		Aethelbald king of Mercia (716–57) Offa king of Mercia (757–96) Offa defeats West Saxons (776) First Viking raids	Arabs conquer Spain Leo III the Isaurian (717–41) Muslim army defeated at Poitiers (732) Harun al Rashid (786–809)
	Louis the Pious (814–40) Division of the Frankish Empire (843)		Egbert king of Wessex (802–39) Egbert recognised as overlord of England (828)	Arabs occupy Sicily Arabs in Rome (846) Basil I (867–86)
	France	**Germany**	Viking raids resumed (838) Danish kingdom at York (866)	Aghlabids in North Africa
900	Charles the Bald (843–77) Vikings devastate large areas in France	Louis the German (843–76) Magyar invasions	Alfred the Great (871–900) Danelaw established (878)	
1000	Rollo, first duke of Normandy (911) Louis V (986–7), last Carolingian king in France Hugh Capet (987–96) founds the Capetian dynasty	Louis the Child (899–911), last Carolingian king in Germany Henry the Fowler (919–36) Otto the Great Holy Roman Emperor (936–73) Magyars defeated at Lechfeld (955) Otto III (983–1002)	Athelstan king of England (925–39) Edmund king of England (959–75) Aethelred the Unready (978–1016) New Viking raids on England (980)	Expansion of Byzantium Romanus I Lecapenus (919–44) Caliphate of Cordoba Fatimids in Egypt

Pepin the Short led an expedition into northern Italy in 754 to rescue the papacy from the Lombards. The medieval miniaturist, who designed this battle-scene, depicted Pepin's men bearing the fleur-de-lys of the later French monarchy and also wearing armour of a later date. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



From Charlemagne to the age of feudalism

Europe enters a dark age; the continuing influence of Rome; the barbarian kingdoms; Charlemagne creates a vast empire; the glories of the Carolingian renaissance.



A Benedictine monk instructs a novice in the rules of his order. From the sixth to the eleventh centuries, when the civilisation of the Roman Empire had collapsed before the barbarian invasions, the monasteries became the great centres of learning in western Europe. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The legacy of Rome

The period between the fall of Rome and the coronation of Charlemagne, which was also the golden age of Islam, is commonly called the dark age of European history. However, in the chaos that followed the collapse of the Roman Empire, Europe acquired an identity, discovering and developing a new form of social organisation which enabled it to confront and later to conquer its enemies. This new social organisation was feudalism, which came into being when France in the West and Byzantium in the East were both menaced by the seemingly irresistible Arab armies.

As the barbarians broke through the frontiers of the Roman Empire and swept over the countryside, Ammianus Marcellinus, the last great Roman historian, writing in the latter half of the fourth century A.D., described how one could see 'women driven along by cracking whips, and stupified with fear, still heavy with their unborn children, which, before coming into the world, endured many horrors.' The fall of Rome brought tragedy and suffering to many people, and to others it brought despair and despondency. It was the end of the world they had known, and the future seemed hopeless. Yet Rome continued to influence Europe's development, and when the new age of feudalism came into being it inherited and preserved much of that ancient civilisation.

The extinction of Roman power and the collapse of its political structure did not also result in the elimination of its culture or the disappearance of its way of life. Many generations before the Roman Empire came to an end, its ideas had been spread throughout its conquered provinces. When their political links with Rome were broken by the barbarian invasions, these distant countries resumed their separate existence, but the old influences remained embedded in their outlook and beliefs, and in their laws and institutions.

The legacy of ancient Rome was preserved for the western world in three main ways: the Byzantine Empire in the east maintained Roman tradition and influence for a thousand years after the fall of Rome itself; the medieval Catholic Church, centred in Rome, preserved much of the language, laws and sense of unity of Rome; and the Holy Roman Empire was an attempt to revive the old Roman Empire in the West.

The Byzantine Empire

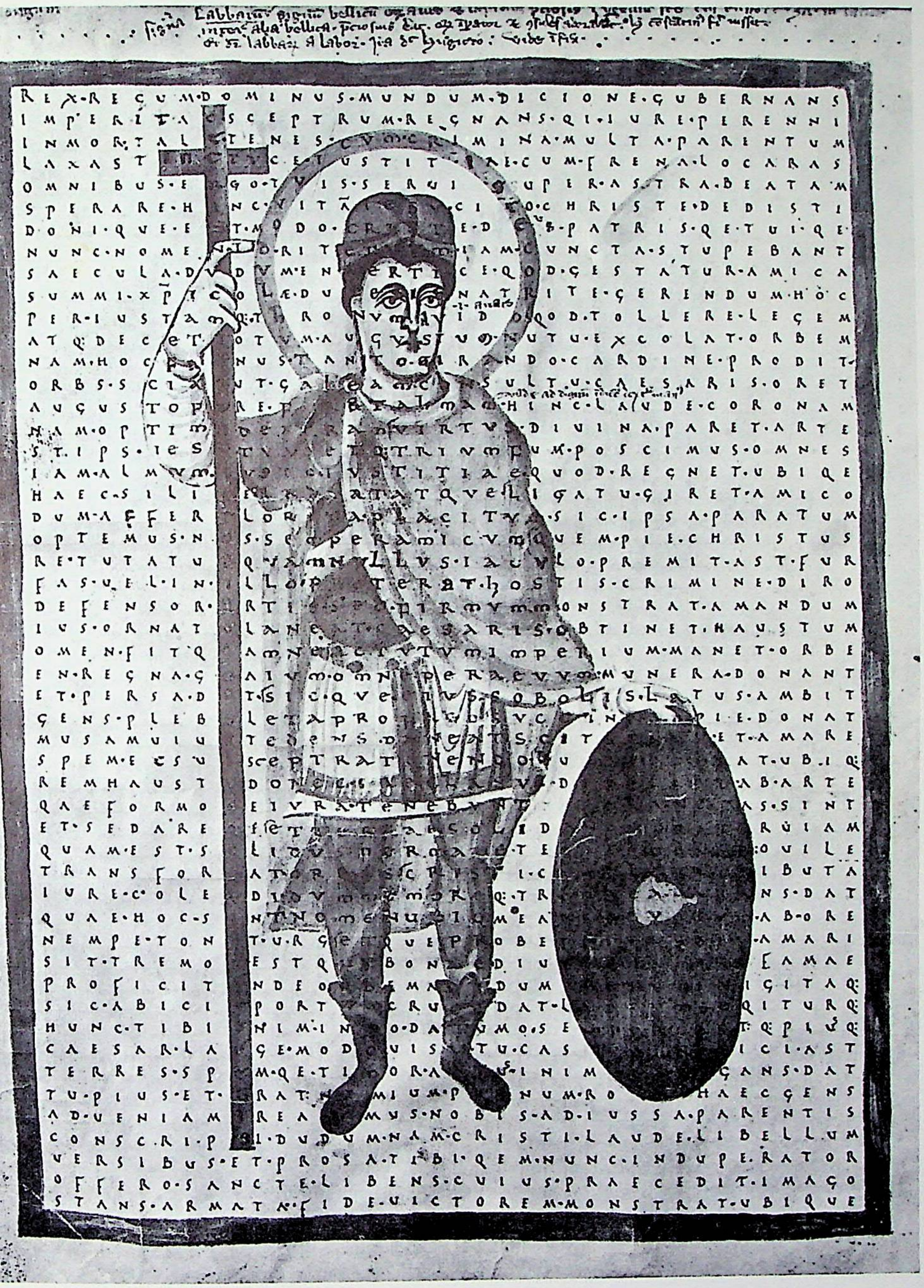
In the year A.D. 336 the Roman Empire had been divided into two and for a time there were commonly two emperors; one at Rome or some other city in Italy, who ruled the West; and one at Constantinople (the city founded by the emperor Constantine in A.D. 330 at Byzantium on the Bosporus), who ruled the Eastern Empire. The last western emperor was overthrown in 476 and replaced by a barbarian king in Italy, but the Byzantine emperors continued to rule and even flourished in the East.

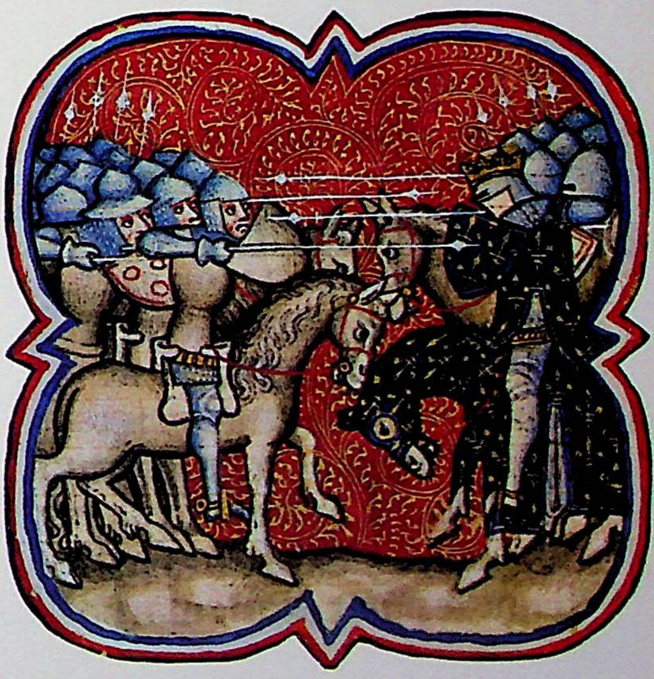
Constantinople was intended to be a new Rome. It had seven hills and fourteen regions as did the old capital on the Tiber, and many of its buildings were carefully copied from the Roman originals. The old Roman provinces of the West in Britain, Gaul, Spain, Italy and Africa remained nominally subject to the Byzantine emperor, and sometimes their barbarian rulers accepted from him such honorific titles as 'consul' or 'patrician'. The Byzantine Empire remained an important preserve of Roman tradition and influence, and as late as the fifteenth century the citizens of Constantinople still spoke of themselves as *Romaioi*—'Romans'.

The Church and the barbarians

When the last emperor ceased to rule in Rome, its bishop remained, acquiring the title of pope and attaining the foremost place among the other bishops of the Church. Moreover, as the Roman imperial administration collapsed in the west before the barbarian invasions, the papacy was the most stable institution in Italy to survive and in many ways took the place of the old emperors. The English political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, said in the seventeenth century, 'the papacy is none other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' The pope inherited quite naturally from pagan Rome the costume, ceremonies and administrative court which came to be associated with his office. He was not only the Christian leader and protector of religious orthodoxy, but also a leaven of Roman civilisation working within the barbarian mass which had overwhelmed western Europe.

In some of the conquered provinces the





bishops similarly survived, and ecclesiastical organisation was similar to the old imperial system. The regional dioceses corresponded to the empire's territorial divisions. The canon law of the Church was strongly influenced by Roman legal ideas. Latin remained the language of worship, scholarship, administration and diplomacy. Moreover, as Christianity continued to spread, the Roman influence reached regions the Romans had never ruled.

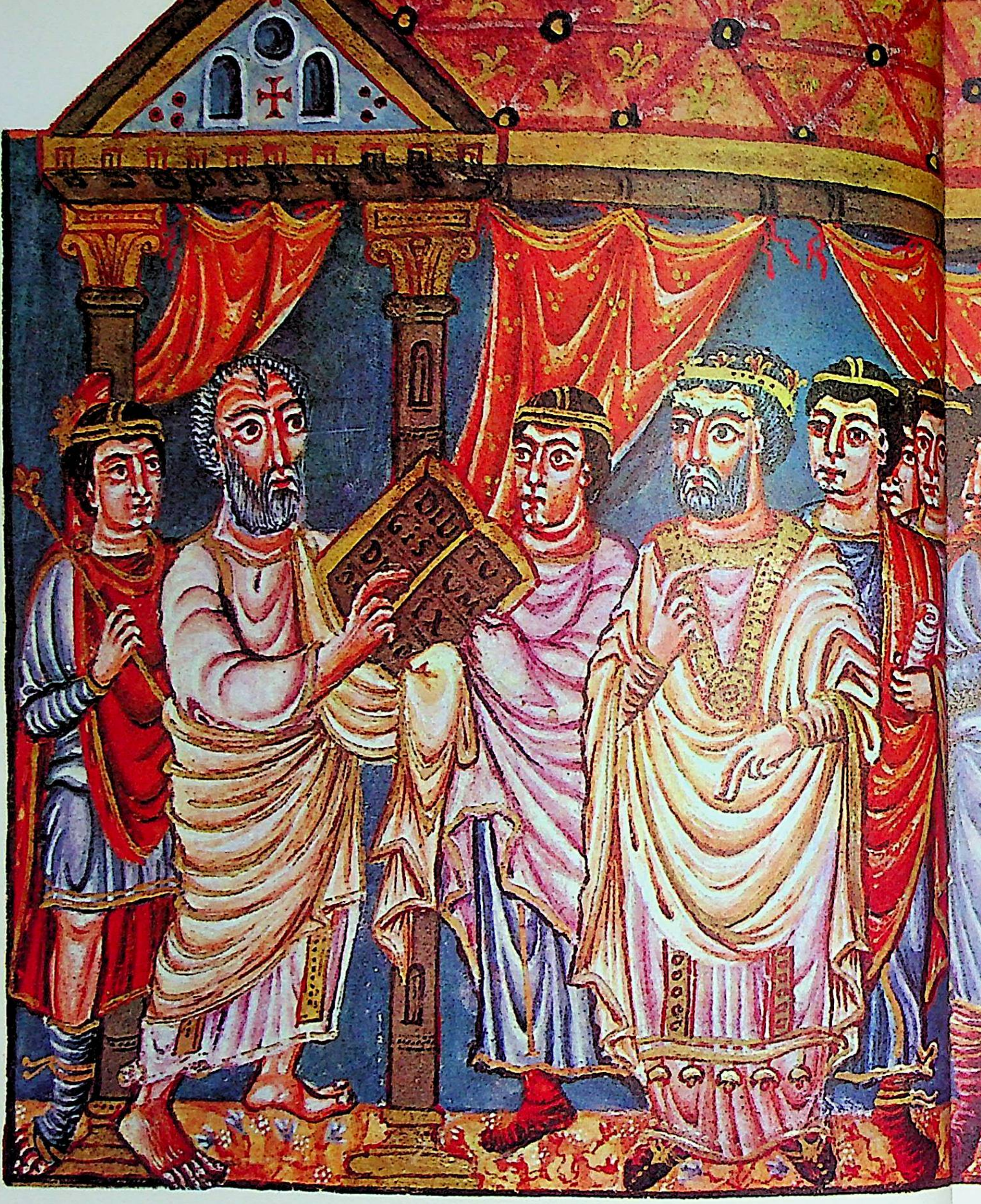
Above: Charlemagne's only surviving son, Louis the Pious, who succeeded him in 814. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.)
Right: in 732 the massed ranks of Frankish warriors under Charles Martel routed the Muslim cavalry at Poitiers, driving them back to the Pyrenees. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The monastic centres of Christendom

The most effective means by which the Church could spread and preserve its faith and civilised values was through the monastery. The real founder of western monasticism was St Benedict, who established the great Italian monastery of Monte Cassino and there about 540 wrote his famous rule, which in the next three centuries was adopted by monks throughout Italy and most of western Europe.

The rule assigned a definite proportion of the monk's daily life to worship, meditation, study and manual labour. It contained all that was needful for the management of a self-sufficient religious community living on the produce of its land. Such was the essential character of Benedictine monasticism. Each monastery was independent, and if one were destroyed (as Monte Cassino was by the Lombards in 581) others survived and carried the essentials of western life through the worst times.

It was Benedictine monks, led by St Augustine of Canterbury, who went in 597 to evangelise the Anglo-Saxons in England. Shortly afterwards St Columbanus took a band of Irish monks to France, working first in Brittany and then in the Vosges district where he founded the great abbey at Luxeuil. In the first part of the eighth century St Boniface, a monk from Devonshire, went to Germany and evangelised Bavaria, Hesse, Friesland, Thuringia and Franconia. Here he established many abbeys and nunneries, with schools attached which he staffed with monks and nuns from England. These were the institutions which, with their learning, teaching and copying of manuscripts, became the centres of civilisation in western Europe.



The Germanic kingdoms

The Barbarians who invaded the northern provinces of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries were Germanic peoples driven westwards by the Huns, a nomadic race which emerged from central Asia and penetrated into Europe and India. The Germans, unlike the Huns, settled permanently within the Empire, which by the early sixth century consisted of (apart from the Eastern Roman Empire) five great Germanic states.

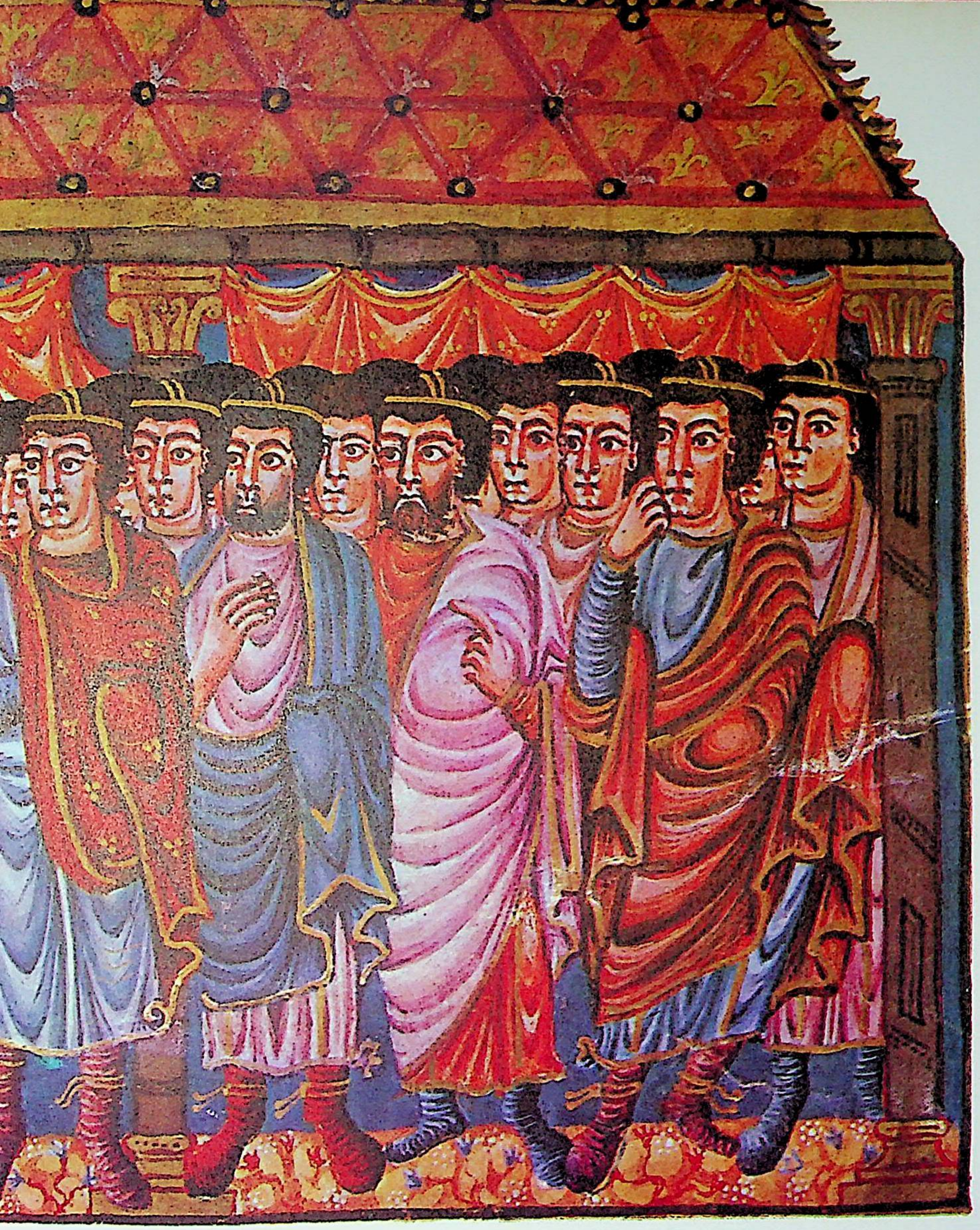
The first of these to be formed was the Visigothic kingdom, centred upon Toulouse and including Spain, which was founded by Goths who crossed the Danube. The Ostrogothic kingdom was founded in Italy and Illyria by other Goths who crossed the Danube. Another Germanic tribe, the Vandals, crossed the Rhine and eventually established the Vandal kingdom by conquering the Roman provinces of North Africa.

The Germanic people who later played the most important part in the history of western Europe were the Franks, who crossed the Rhine into Gaul. Their ruler, Clovis, who was baptised at Reims in 506, gradually extended the Frankish kingdom until it stretched from the Rhine to the Pyrenees.

This Germanic division of the Roman Empire did not, however, remain long unchanged. Justinian, who became Byzantine Emperor in 527, wished to reassert imperial authority in the West. His brilliant general, Belisarius, crossed to Carthage, drove out the Vandals and regained for Justinian a large part of the former Roman possessions in North Africa. He then led an expedition to Italy and by 553 had expelled the Ostrogoths from the country. Soon after Justinian's death in 565, however, another Germanic people, the Lombards, moved into Italy and by 572 had conquered almost the whole north and Tuscany. The territory regained by Justinian in North Africa was also lost. In the seventh century it was conquered by the Arabs, who in the next century also overran Spain and destroyed the Visigothic kingdom.

The Frankish kingdom

Of the Germanic kingdoms established within the Roman Empire, only the Frankish kingdom remained, but under the Merovingian dynasty it might well have collapsed. The Franks followed, more closely than their rivals, the barbarian custom of dividing their kingdom, in the manner of a family estate, among a dead ruler's sons. The result was a series of family conflicts, which gravely weakened the crown. Dagobert (629–39) was the last Merovingian king to wield effective power. After his death the three main regions of the Frankish territory



Left: Charlemagne was surrounded by a number of important officials, who followed him during his travels and formed the rudiments of a central government. Among them were his chief chaplain, steward, high constable, chamberlain and mayor of the palace. There were also counsellors, who could be sent on missions. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

—Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy—asserted their right to be separate kingdoms, even when subject to one king.

In each of these divisions effective power was in the hands of the strongest nobleman, 'the mayor of the palace.' The great families struggled with each other for this position, while the later Merovingian kings, feeble nonentities, were largely kept in seclusion on their estates. Unity was at length restored by the mayor of Austrasia, Charles Martel, who by 719 had compelled the whole Frankish kingdom to acknowledge his supremacy.

Meanwhile, the Arabs, having conquered Spain, invaded southern Gaul. In response to an appeal for help from the duke of Aquitaine, Charles Martel assembled a great Frankish army which met the Arabs under the walls of Poitiers in 732. The Arab horsemen dashed vainly against the close-locked lines of Frankish infantry, protected by mail-shirts and shields, and were overwhelmed. They retreated across the Pyrenees and did not renew the invasion. The victor received the name of Martel ('the Hammer'). The Franks regained their prestige and their leadership.

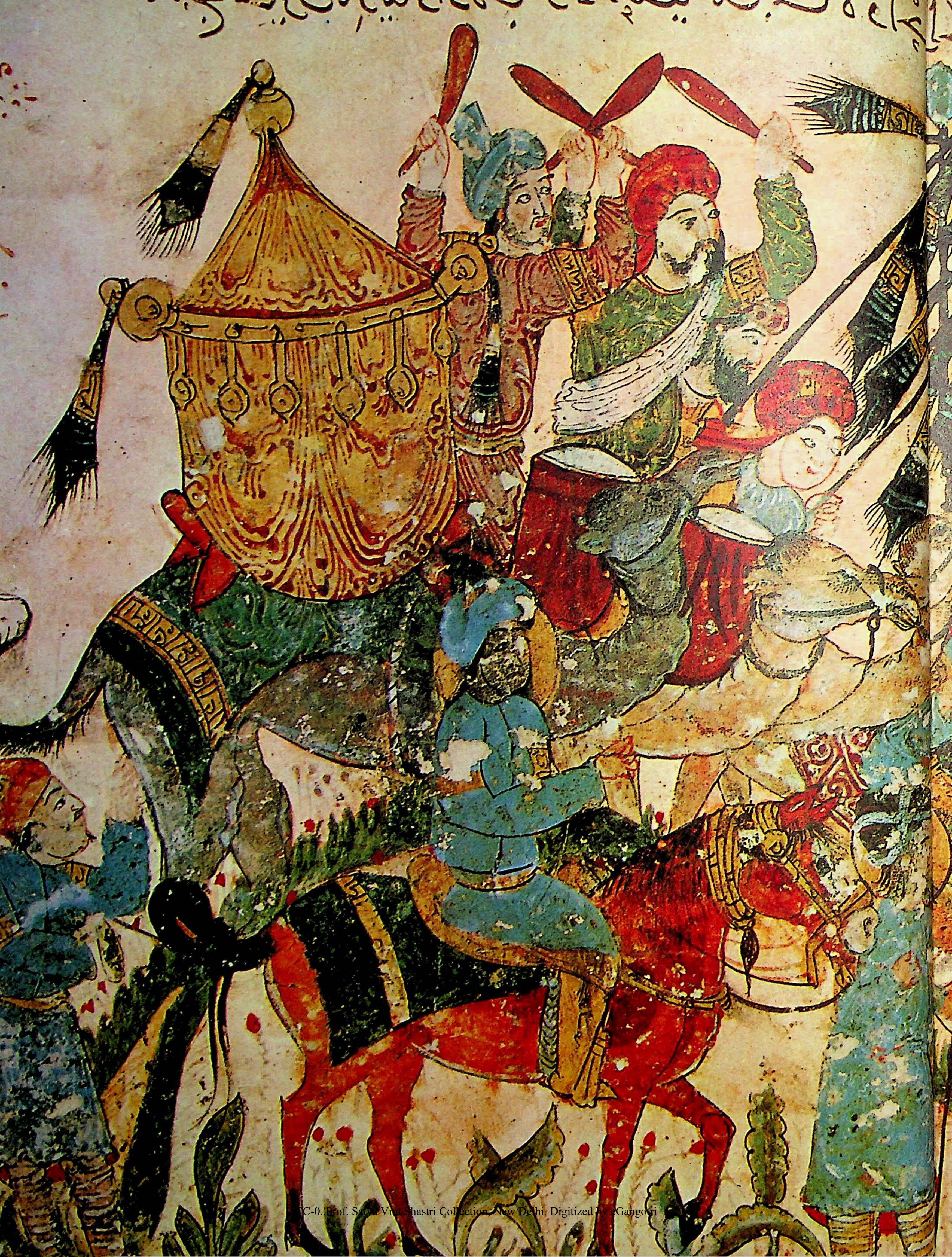
The Carolingians

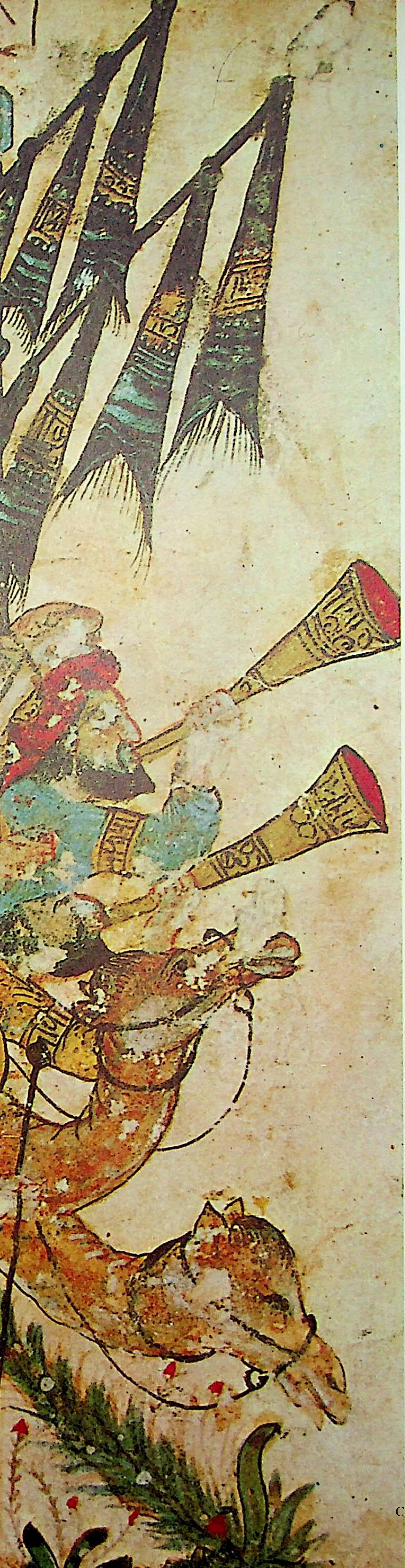
Shortly before his death in 741, Charles Martel divided his power between his sons, Carloman and Pepin, but Carloman abdicated to become a monk in 747. Four years later, Pepin, known as 'the Short' because of his slight stature, banished to a monastery the last descendant of Clovis, the young Childeric III. He was then proclaimed king by the Frankish noblemen and became the founder of the Carolingian dynasty.

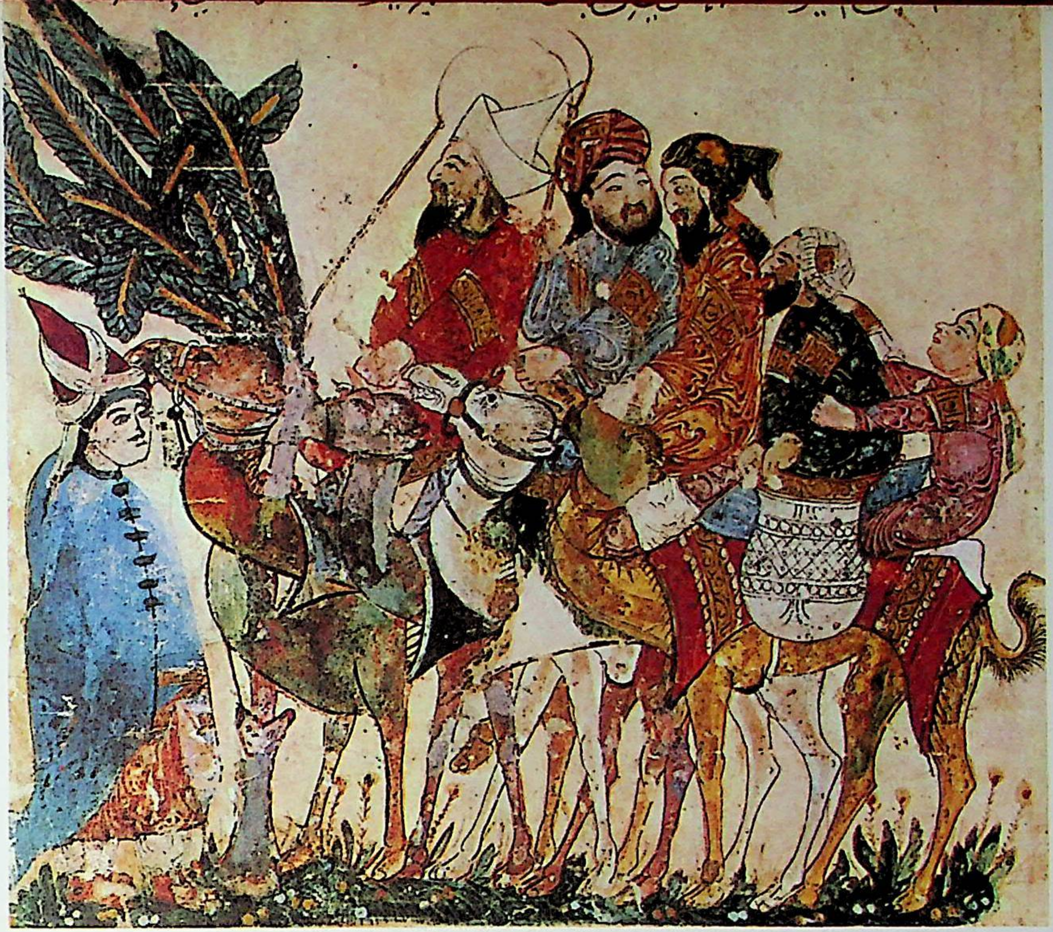
Unlike previous Frankish kings, however, Pepin became king not only by election, but also with the blessing of the Church. He obtained from Pope Zacharias the decree that he who held the power should also have the name of king, and he was anointed by St Boniface. He was now king 'by the grace of God' and 'the Lord's anointed' like David in the Old Testament.

Henceforward, there was a new connection between the papacy and the Carolingian monarchy. The papacy was now in danger of subjection to the Lombard kingdom and when a Lombard army besieged Rome, Pope Stephen II, after turning in vain to the Byzantine emperor for help, crossed the Alps to seek Pepin's assistance.

By two raids into Italy. Pepin forced the Lombards to withdraw their threat to Rome and to surrender their conquests from the empire. These territories, lying in the Romagna and the Marches, were not re-







The caliph of Baghdad, Harun al-Rashid, sought good relations with the Carolingian Empire. His caravans brought Charlemagne numerous gifts, including the key to the Holy Sepulchre and a water-clock.
Left: the caliph's guard.
Above: a caravan. Arab manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

stored by Pepin to Byzantine rule, but by the Donation of Quierzy in 756 were conferred on the pope as the legitimate representative of imperial power. This expedient crippled the Lombards, the most formidable rival of the Franks, but it also founded the papal states, independent of any temporal power, upon which great papal ambitions were later based.

Charlemagne and the iron crown

At his death in 768 Pepin divided his kingdom between his sons, Carloman and Charles. But within three years Carloman was dead, and Charles the Great (as Charlemagne) easily secured recognition as sole king.

Contrary to the legendary portrait, Charlemagne was short and stout and did not have a 'flourishing beard'. He liked swimming and riding. Unassuming, he attached little importance to ceremony. He lived with several concubines by whom he had many children. Expressing himself easily and fond of the liberal arts, he was a particularly cultured sovereign for his time.

He spoke Latin, understood Greek and earnestly received instruction from teachers of rhetoric, logic, astronomy and mathematics. He tried to learn to read, 'but his efforts met with little success because he had started too late', reported Eginhard, his chronicler. Though he did not allow churchmen to restrict the lusty behaviour of his vigorous private life, he was very pious and thought himself strictly bound to respect the Church's teaching.

Charlemagne was soon involved in Italian affairs. In 773 he crossed the Alps at Pope Hadrian's entreaty after Didier, the Lombard king, had captured some cities included in Pepin's Donation, and even menaced Rome. Having starved Pavia into surrender and sent Didier in captivity to a Frankish monastery, Charles annexed the whole of Lombard territory except Spoleto (which submitted to the Papacy) and Benevento. He declared himself king of the Lombards and took their famous iron crown, appointing his second son, Pepin, still a child, as his viceroy. Finally, he visited Hadrian in Rome and confirmed the Donation of Quierzy.

The conquests of Charlemagne

Charlemagne fought a long series of wars during his reign and made many conquests. He was prompted by both political considerations and personal ambition, but his wars had also a religious character. He sincerely wished to protect and extend Christendom. All these motives led him to attempt the conquest of Spain. Taking advantage of the continual civil wars of the Spanish Muslims, he led an army across the Pyrenees in 778; but he made little progress, and on his return his rear-guard was attacked and massacred by the Basques of Navarre, a disaster remembered in the famous *Song of Roland* of the twelfth century. Charlemagne, however, persevered in his Spanish policy, and in 811 his eldest son conquered the territory known as the Spanish March, which was the beginning of Christian Spain and the first Muslim province recovered for Christendom.

The fiercest and most constant of Charlemagne's wars was that against the Saxons, and this also was a crusade against German heathenism as much as a campaign of conquest. The Saxons had changed little since their ancestors had invaded England in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. They were a fierce, warlike people devoted to their ancient gods. Year after year, from 772, Charlemagne led his forces against them, only to have them rise and overwhelm his garrisons as soon as he withdrew. He resorted to the wholesale decapitation of their leaders and the deportation of thousands of Saxons to the west to make way for Frankish colonists. The Saxons did not finally submit until 785, when their chiefs were baptised, and monasteries were established all over the country. The Germans became Christians and subjects of the Frankish empire, but they retained their unity and national characteristics.

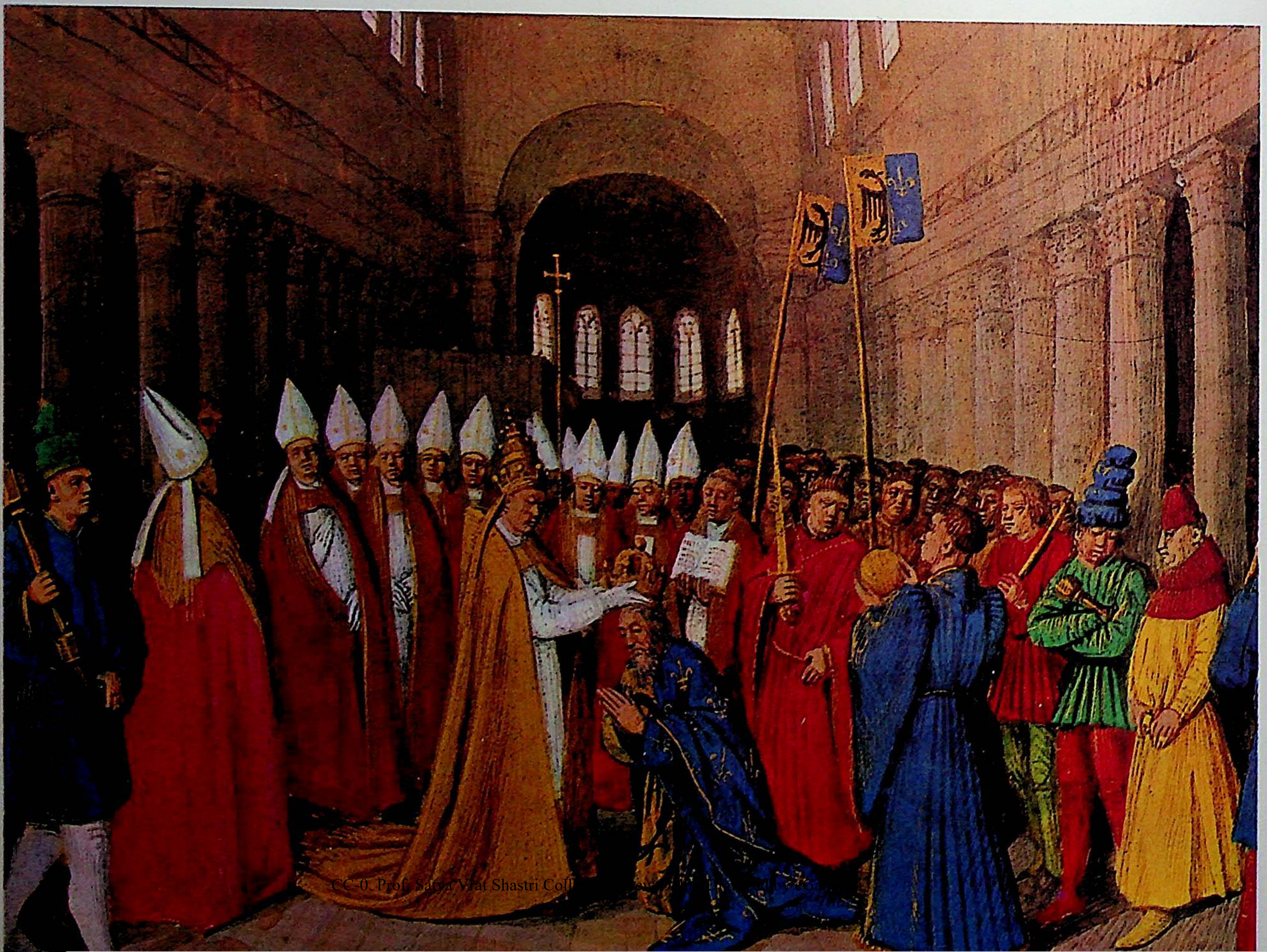
Charlemagne's determination to unite all Germany under the Franks led him to seize the duchy of Bavaria in 788. The duke was compelled to become a monk, and his two sons and two daughters had also to abandon their luxurious palace in Ratisbon for Frankish abbeys. The Bavarians, in fact, gained from Charlemagne both good government and protection. When their country was invaded by the Avars, a heathen race akin to the Huns, who had settled on the middle Danube, he waged such ruthless campaigns against them that by 796 they had almost vanished as a people. Their vacant lands made possible German expansion north-eastwards.

The empire of Charlemagne

By the end of the eighth century Charlemagne had a vast realm stretching from the Elbe to beyond the Pyrenees and from the North Sea to central Italy. Once again most of western Europe was united under a single empire, ruled by a Christian sovereign who had enlarged the bounds of the Church by his conquests. The popes were well aware of the value of strengthening their links with the Carolingian dynasty and endowing it with the prestige of past tradition.

In the year 800 Charlemagne was in Rome, having marched into Italy to support Pope Leo III against his rebellious Roman subjects, and on Christmas Day, at the end of mass, while he still knelt before the shrine of St Peter, the pope rewarded him by placing a golden crown on his head and saluting him as 'Carolus Augustus, Emperor of the Romans.' The crowd shouted, 'God bless and save Carolus Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-bringing Emperor of the Romans', and the pope then

Below: Charlemagne was proclaimed emperor on Christmas Day, 800. *Pope Leo III himself placed the crown on his head while the Romans, crowded together in the basilica, acclaimed him. To calm the anger of the Byzantines, the new emperor planned to marry the empress Irene, but she was dethroned in* 802. *Miniature from the* Grandes Chroniques de France. *(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*



fell at his feet to pay homage to him in the same manner as the bishops of Rome had formerly done to the Roman emperors at Constantinople.

The pope's action came at a favourable moment. In 797 the empress Irene, widow of the Byzantine emperor Leo IV, had blinded and deposed her son, Constantine VI, and proclaimed herself sole ruler. Many doubted whether a woman could hold this position. Charlemagne considered marrying Irene, until she was ousted in 802 by Nicephorus I, who refused to recognise him. Charlemagne proceeded to attack Venice, the only remaining Byzantine dependency in northern Italy, but the lack of a fleet prevented him from carrying out any effective action. Events turned in his favour, however, when Nicephorus was killed fighting the Bulgarians, and in 814 Charlemagne obtained reluctant Byzantine recognition of his imperial title. Meanwhile, the Persians had welcomed Charlemagne's coronation as a blow to their Byzantine enemies, and Harun al-Rashid, the caliph of Baghdad, sent courteous gifts to him.

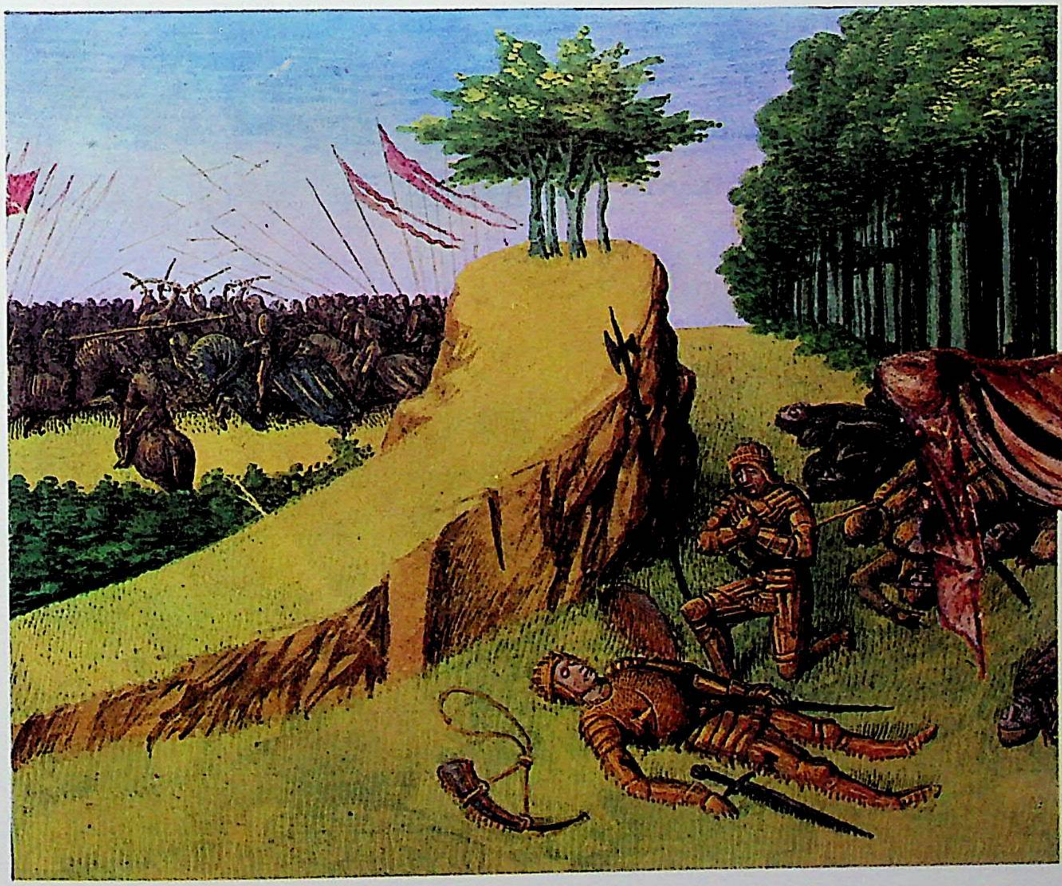
The coronation of Charlemagne intensified the division between East and West. There were now two emperors, a Frank and a Byzantine. It also emphasised the religious differences between the two empires, for the pope saw in Charlemagne's coronation a mark of his hostility towards the Byzantine emperors who had supported the iconoclastic heresy which opposed the use of images in worship.

For contemporaries the coronation did not represent a new development. On the contrary, they believed that they had moved back 400 years to the time before the break-up of the Roman world when there had been peace and unity in western Europe. Charlemagne himself, however, seemed to regard his new title as only a personal distinction. In 806 he even decided to divide his lands among his sons according to the traditional Frankish manner, but this was not to be. When he died in 814, at the age of seventy-five, only one of his sons survived him.

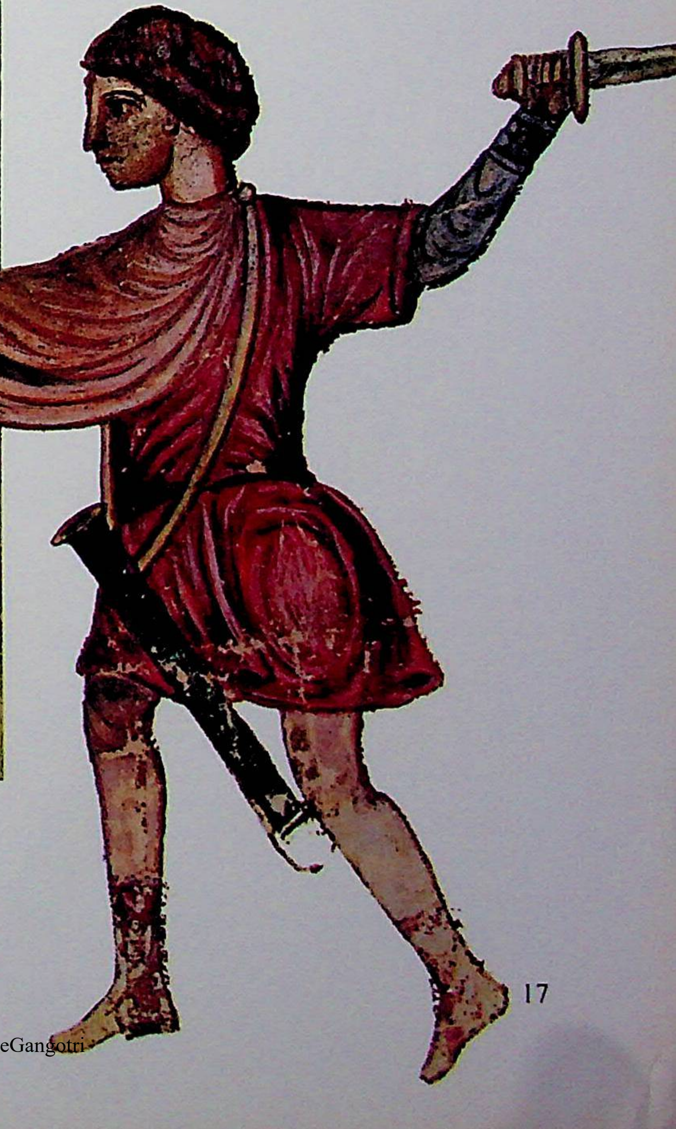
The government of the Frankish Empire

Charlemagne ruled his territory as an autocrat with the assistance of his household officers, who accompanied him wherever he went and were employed in various capacities in peace and war. For counsel he relied upon his trusted friends, both noblemen and ecclesiastics, whom he summoned to his presence either temporarily or permanently. However, as later events showed, in the end the government of the empire depended upon the wisdom and energy of the ruler alone.

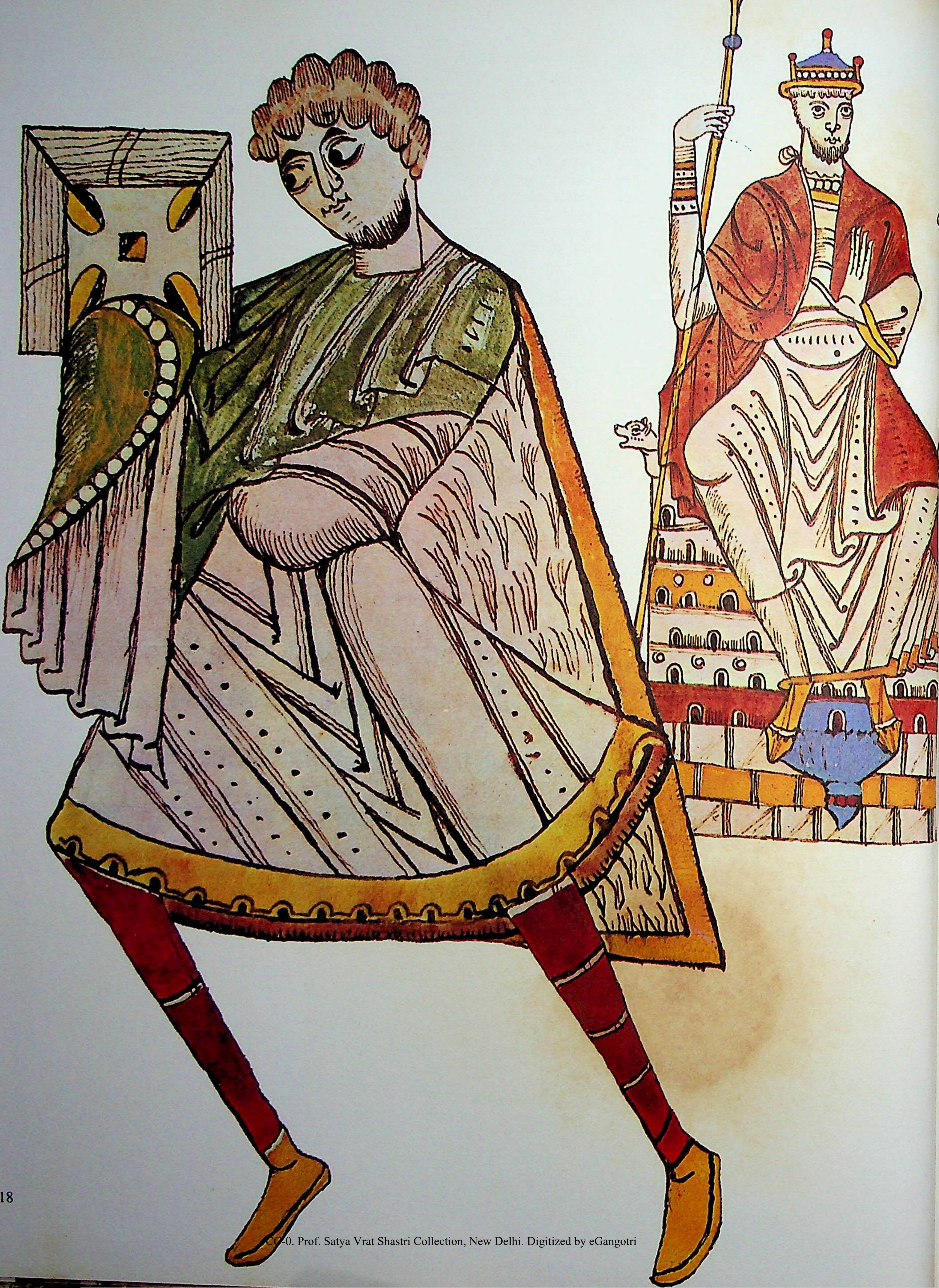
Under Charlemagne local government continued on the old Frankish lines. On the

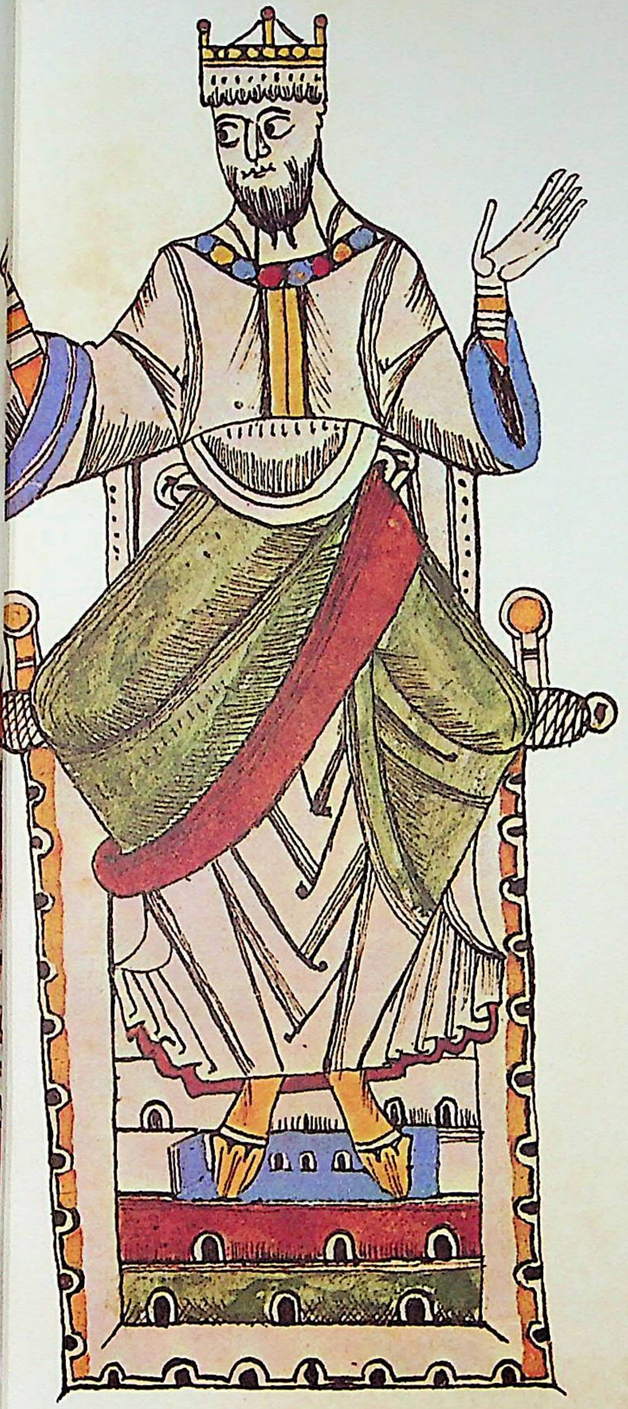


Below left: Count Roland lies in the Pass of Roncesvalles, killed by Basque mountaineers after having sounded his horn to warn his companions in arms. Miniature from the Grandes Chroniques de France. *(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*



Below: the costume of the Carolingian warrior is closer to historical reality than that in the miniature painted several centuries later. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





Above and left: these figures with their realism, movement and bold colours, illustrate what may be called the Carolingian renaissance. Despite Byzantine influence, western art in the ninth century possessed originality. The illustrations were often crude but displayed a fierce and imaginative power as well. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

marches or frontier districts, dukes or margraves ruled several counties, but elsewhere between 200 and 250 counts each governed a county, usually identical with a bishop's diocese, and were responsible for administrative, judicial and military matters. The link between them and the ruler was provided by envoys or *missi dominici*, whom the earlier Merovingians had first employed to perform particular duties in the provinces. In 802 their duties were permanently organised. The empire was then divided into districts, consisting of from six to ten counties, and to these every year were despatched the envoys, usually in pairs, a count and a bishop. They supervised lay and ecclesiastical officials, redressed wrongs, communicated royal orders and made reports on their return.

The ultimate guarantee of good government, however, depended upon the personality of the ruler. His presence alone in a locality could impose his decision on the counts and noblemen and ensure the preservation of order and justice. Consequently, Charlemagne led a life of continual journeying from one end to another of his vast realm. After 808, when illness confined him to Aachen, his capital, his decrees or directions revealed the continual spread of abuses.

The Carolingian renaissance

Charlemagne's empire did not last. Its government collapsed, its unity vanished and its prosperity declined. Its influence on the renewal of civilisation in Europe was, however, more enduring. In alliance with the Church and encouraged by Charlemagne, there was a revival of learning and culture of sufficient importance to be termed the Carolingian renaissance. This was strong enough to survive the perils of the following two centuries and assist the advancement of civilisation during the Middle Ages.

Charlemagne's first concern was to improve the standard of education among the clergy, many of whom were very ignorant. He ordered the establishment in all the dioceses of his empire, of elementary parochial schools, and higher schools attached to abbeys or cathedrals for the training of the clergy of the future, and he even attempted to make parish priests undertake teaching. More books were written and monastic libraries enlarged. From the great abbeys, the clear, pleasant bookhand, the Caroline minuscule (of which the present roman type is a variant) spread and replaced the various ill-formed scripts used in western Europe.

Though it was rare for laymen to be educated, Charlemagne had a palace school in which his sons and young noblemen were taught. This school became an important intellectual centre. Charlemagne and his courtiers, despite their years, set an example by applying themselves to study. Lectures, discussions on all sorts of subjects and charades or riddles in verse became the fashion at court. Charlemagne himself delighted in theological discussion, and his favourite book was St Augustine's *City of God.*

The best of Charlemagne's teachers came from abroad. Peter of Pisa, the grammarian, and Paul the deacon, the historian of the Lombards, were from Italy, while Theodulf the Visigoth, the best writer of Latin verse of the day, was from Spain. The greatest of all was an Englishman, Alcuin, who came from the famous episcopal school at York. Alcuin prepared a more correct text of the Vulgate (or Latin Bible) and a revision of the Church services which has become the basis of the present-day Roman mass-book. For many years Alcuin was head of the palace school, and he recorded how Charlemagne delighted to encourage learning and to 'sharpen the wits of young men and to remove the rust of their slothfulness.'

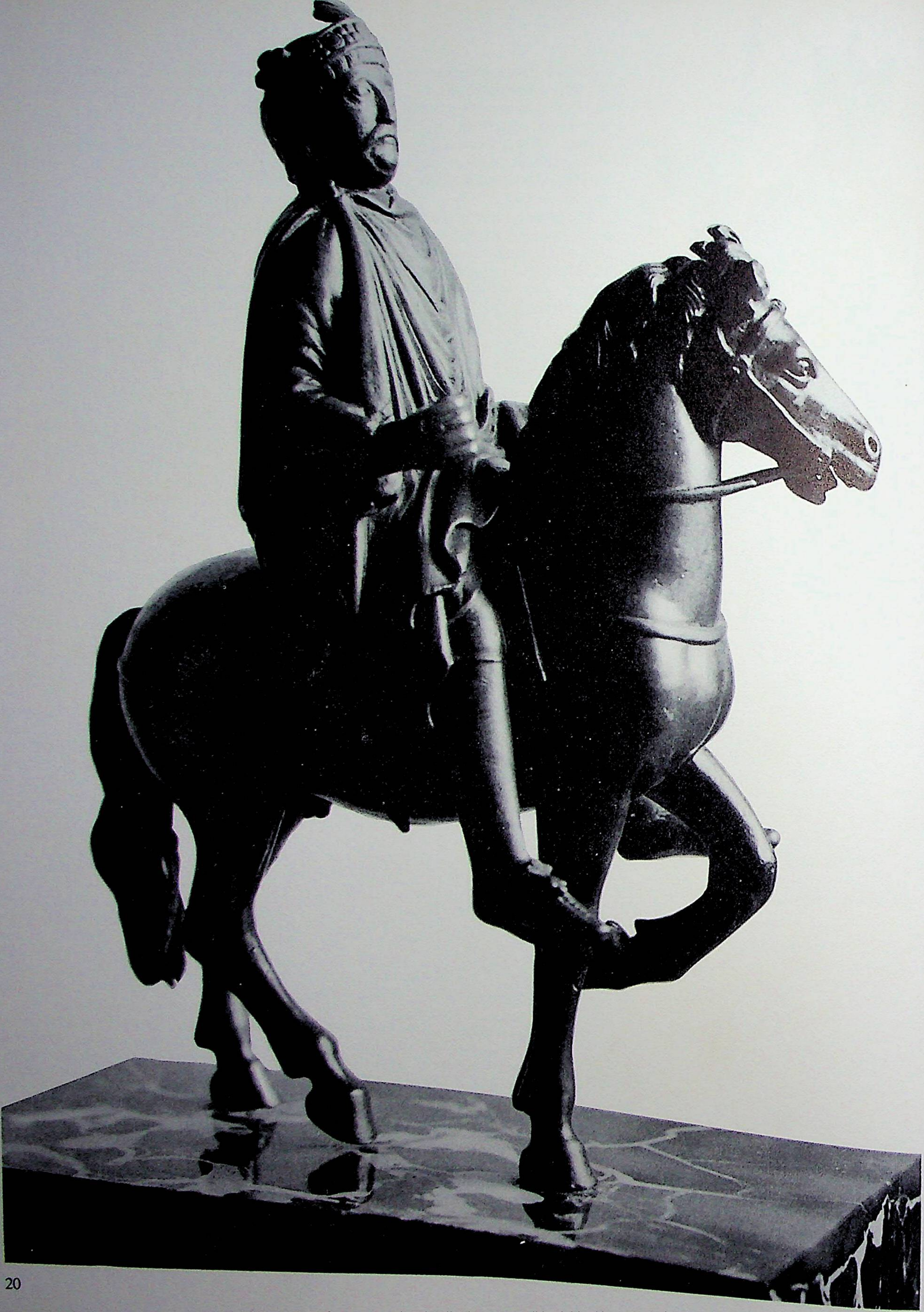
Since these teachers had so much work to do, it is not surprising that their books were imitative rather than original. Theodulf imitated Ovid's poetry, and the Frank, Einhard, based his *Life of Charlemagne* on the *Lives* of Suetonius. Imitation was also general in the arts, and both Ravenna and Rome were taken as models. Charlemagne's round palace church at Aachen was built in imitation of Justinian's San Vitale at Ravenna, but he brought columns, marbles and mosaics from Italy for its decoration. In the Frankish ivories, enamels and illuminated manuscripts, there is to be seen a mixture of Byzantine, Latin and native Teutonic inspiration.

The dissolution of the Carolingian Empire

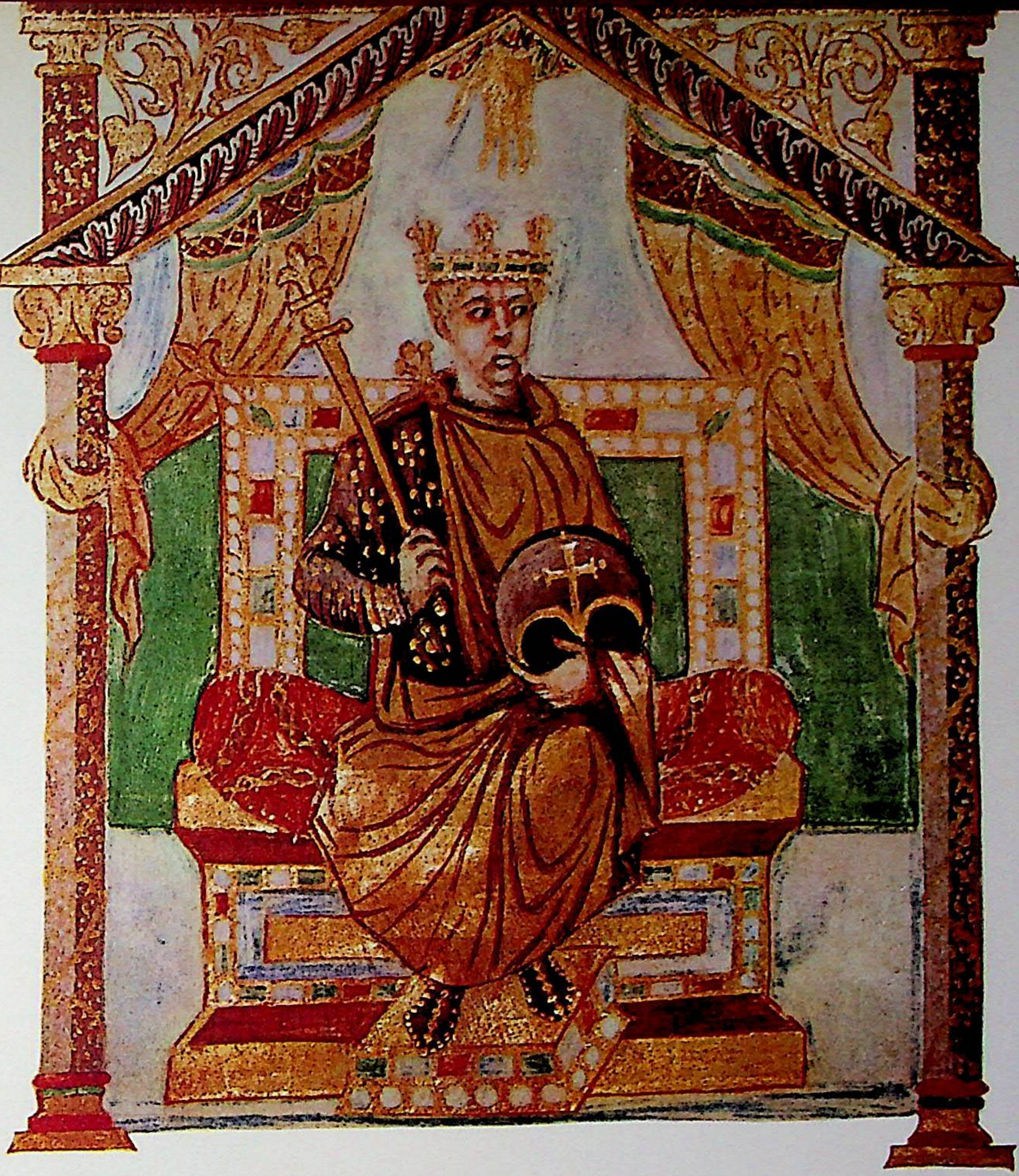
Charlemagne was succeeded by his son, Louis the Pious (814–40), who in 817 made his eldest son, Lothar, co-emperor with authority over Lothar's two younger brothers, who were allotted frontier kingdoms. In 823, however, Louis had another son, Charles (later named 'the Bald'), by his second wife, who was determined to secure an inheritance for her child. The result was a series of partition schemes and civil wars between different members of the royal house which continued after the death of Louis. Finally Lothar was defeated at the battle of Fontenoy in 841 by an alliance between his two surviving brothers, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, who united themselves by the famous Strasbourg Oaths, which, significantly for the future, were taken, not in Latin, but in the two languages spoken by the fighting troops, French and German. The two sides were obliged to make terms and in 843 concluded the Treaty of Verdun, which divided the Carolingian Empire into three parts.

Lothar received the title of emperor and a long tract of territory reaching from Italy to the North Sea, which included Rome and Aachen and the great trade route joining Friesland to the Po Valley. Charles obtained the western part and Louis the eastern—these corresponded roughly to modern France and Germany.

This division was not permanent. The middle kingdom, Lotharingia, soon became a prey to its neighbours. Part of it was secured by France and part by Germany; a considerable region round the Rhône became a separate kingdom, called Burgundy or Arles. The emperor retained only Italy,



Left: a bronze statue, supposedly of Charlemagne (742–814), who was king of the Franks from 768 and emperor from 800. He ruled over most of western Christendom and claimed to succeed the old Roman emperors. (Musée du Louvre, Paris.) Right: Charles the Bald (848–877), who was the first ruler who could justifiably be called king of France. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



and after the deposition of the last Carolingian emperor, Charles the Fat, in 887, the country fell into disorder. Although several minor princes were crowned emperors and kings of Italy, the title was meaningless, and finally it disappeared. The imperial venture had failed. Three modern countries, France, Germany and Italy, had appeared.

The Magyar and Muslim terror

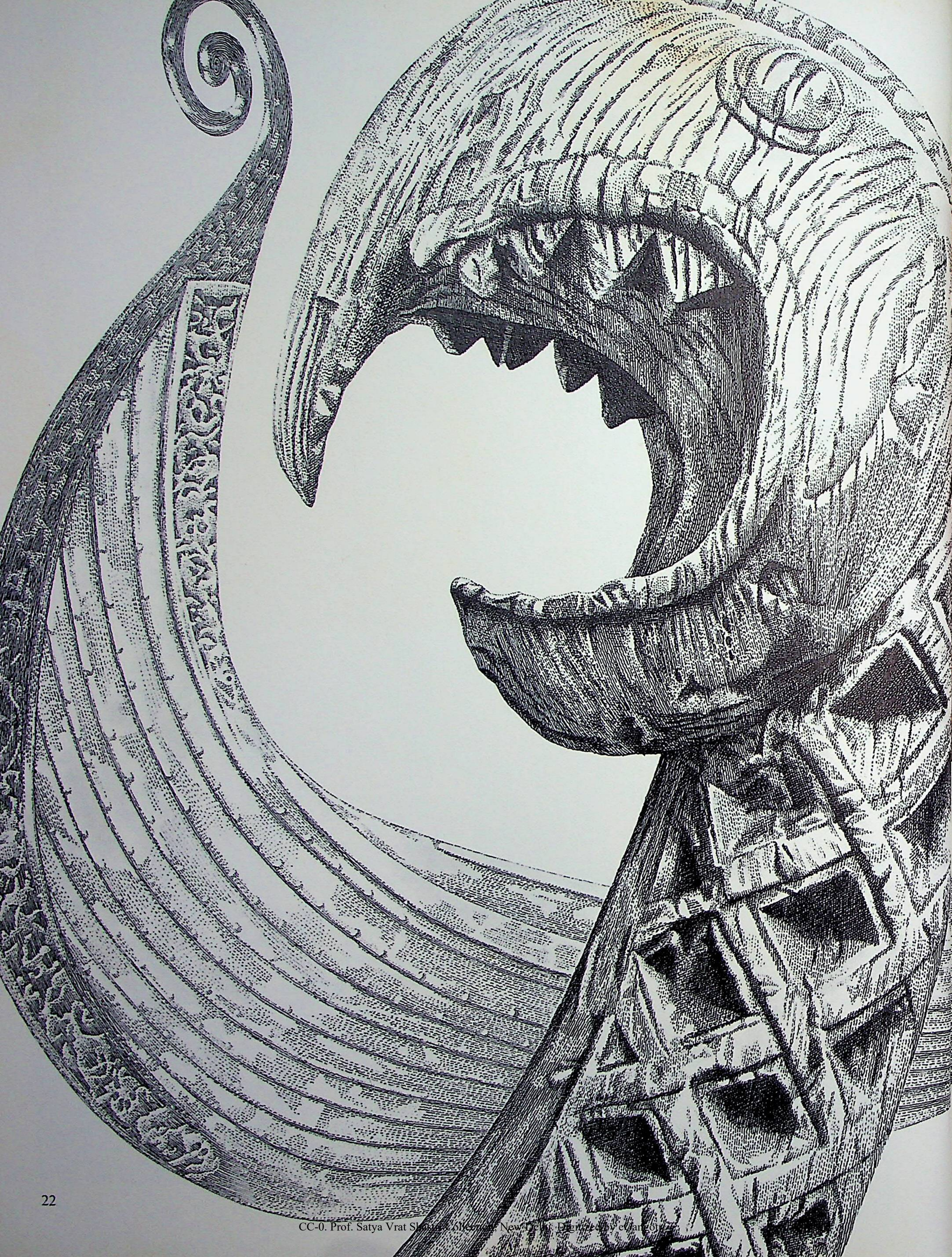
The decay of the Frankish Empire exposed western Europe to attacks from fresh invaders—the Arabs in the south, the Magyars or Hungarians in the east and the Scandinavians in the north.

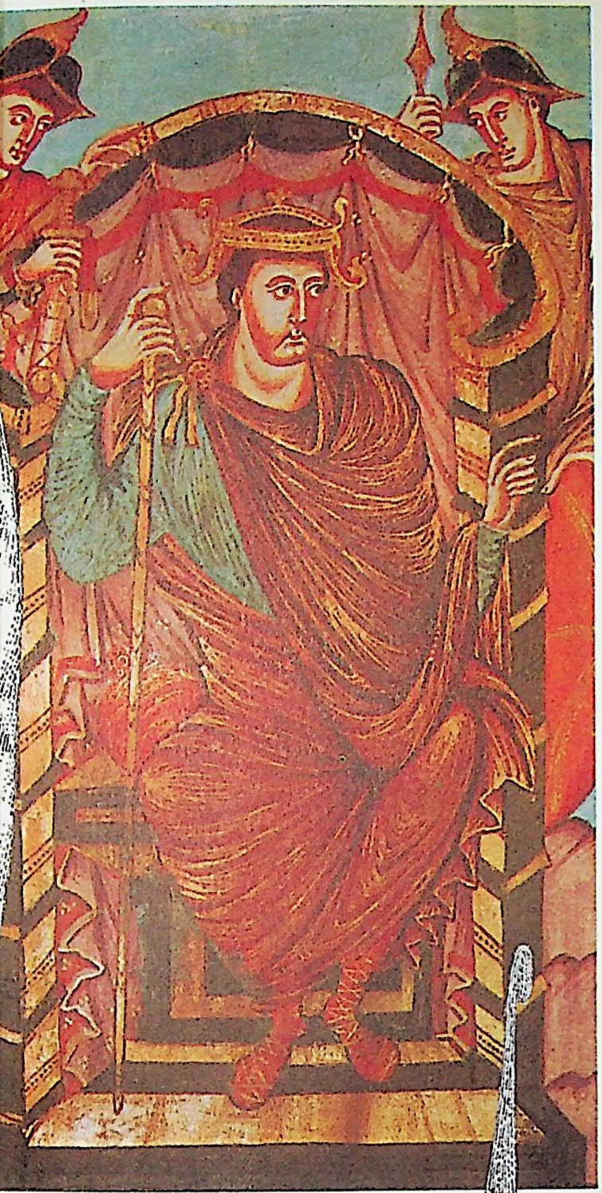
The Magyars, a mixed Finno-Turkish collection of nomadic tribes, moved over the Carpathians from the banks of the Dnieper into the middle Danube basin about the year 896. They soon spread terror among the neighbouring peoples by their raids in which they burnt villages and farms, killed the men and took away the women and cattle. Only fortified towns and castles escaped their attentions.

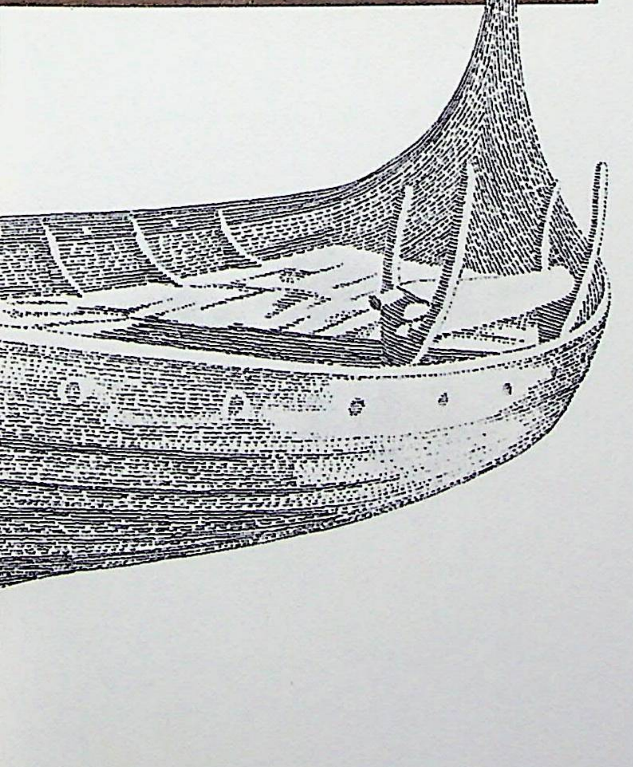
At first they advanced to the borders of Italy and then into Saxony and Bavaria. From 912 they penetrated still further, into Swabia, Thuringia, Lorraine and even Burgundy. Then they crossed the Alps and from 921 to 926 ravaged northern Italy and Tuscany. By the middle of the century, however, their power had declined, and in 955 they were decisively defeated by Otto the Great, king of Germany, at the battle of Lechfeld. Thereafter they ceased their invasions and took to a settled life in Hungary.

The attacks on western Europe by the Muslims (or Saracens as contemporary writers called them) developed in two ways. One was the invasion of Sicily and southern Italy, begun in 827 by the emirs of Tunisia. They captured Palermo in 831 and invaded the mainland six years later, capturing Bari in 840 and raiding Rome in 846.

The geography of Italy, however, made it difficult for them to advance inland. The Franks were able to check them, and in 871 the emperor Louis II even regained Bari. The second form of Saracen attack was plundering raids on the southern coasts of France by pirates sailing from the ports of







Muslim Spain. From the early years of the ninth century they sacked Nice, Marseilles and other places. They established a base at Fraxinetum (near St Tropez) from which they terrorised the western passes of the Alps, their crowning outrage being the capture of St Mariolius, the revered abbot of Cluny, in the Great St Bernard Pass in 972. This event at last aroused the local magnates to take action to destroy them.

The coming of the Vikings

The most important invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries were made by the Vikings (or Danes or Northmen) who came from Scandinavia.

The reasons for their sudden outburst of hostile activity overseas are uncertain, but it was very likely the result of overpopulation. The forests and mountains of Scandinavia did not encourage the spreading of fresh settlements. Moreover, the geography of the region made its inhabitants a seafaring race, and it was natural that they should be attracted by the wealthy, undefended lands around them.

The Vikings sailed in long, narrow vessels, swiftly propelled by sails and oars. Each ship, with a leader and a band of about fifty men, acted as an independent unit. At first the Vikings made raiding expeditions, seizing plunder and abducting people to supply the wealthy Muslim kingdoms with goods and slaves. Later, however, they took to conquest and settlement.

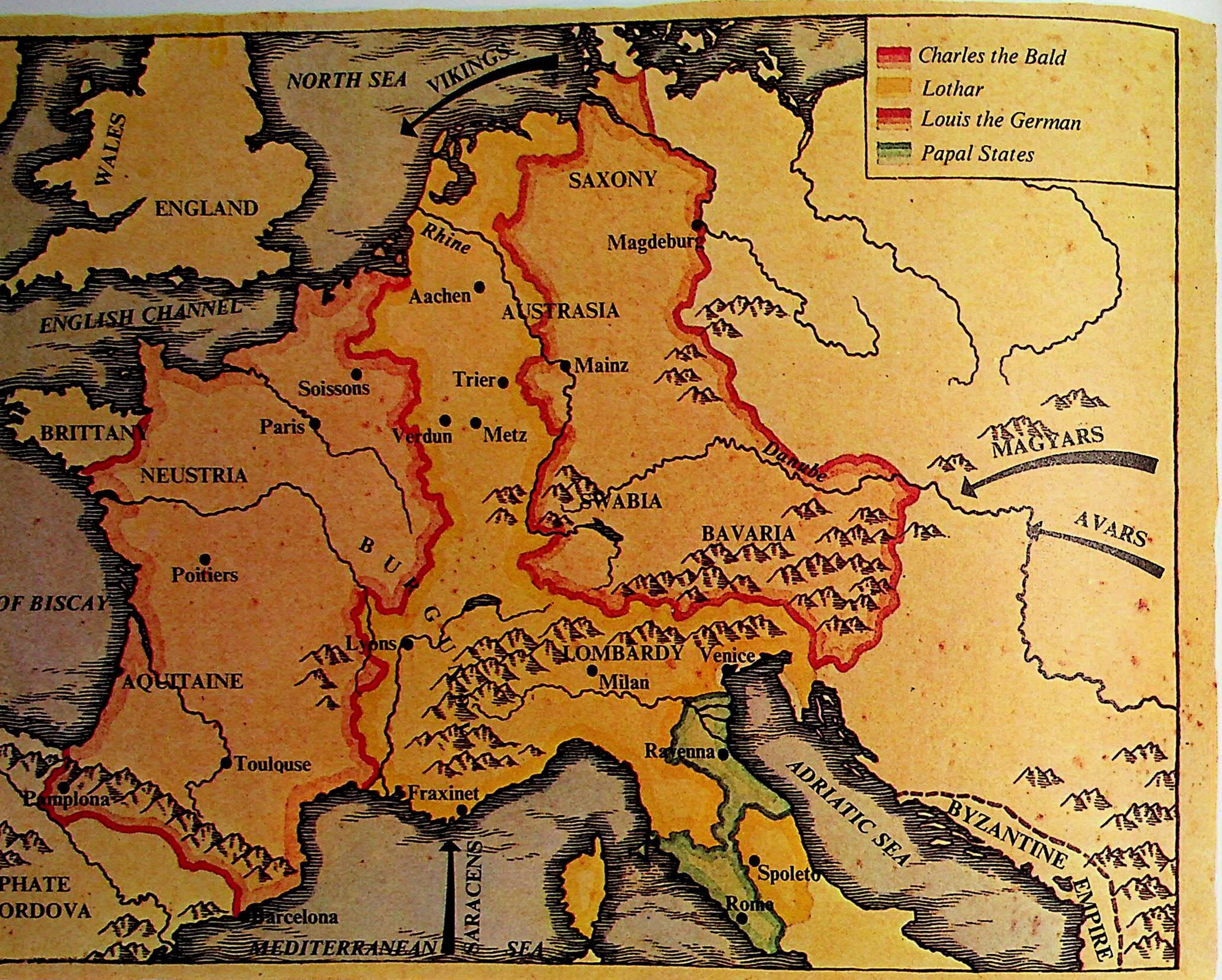
The first Viking expeditions in the West seem to have taken place at the end of the eighth century. They attacked the southern coast of England in 787 and soon started to make incursions almost every summer until in 851 they began to settle there, and by 875 had formed their conquests into a district called the Danelaw. They extended their raids and conquests over the whole of northern Europe. They raided the greater part of Ireland and settled on the islands north of Scotland and in Iceland and Greenland. They sailed to the Netherlands, France and parts of Spain. They penetrated even further inland and in 881 destroyed Charlemagne's tomb at Aachen. Some entered the Mediterranean, eventually driving the Saracens from Sicily and establishing kingdoms both there and in southern Italy. Others explored the shores of the Baltic Sea, penetrated into Russia and even sailed along the Volga as far as the Caspian Sea and then down the Dnieper into the Black Sea and so to Constantinople. Yet others probably sailed across the Atlantic to the New England coast of North America.

The Viking raids on France were concentrated upon much of the same coastline that was being attacked by the Saracens. In 843 the Vikings wintered in France for the first time and captured Nantes. From 879 to 889 they devastated the countryside between the Loire and the Rhine. Resistance to them proved vain, and large numbers occupied the country as settlers.

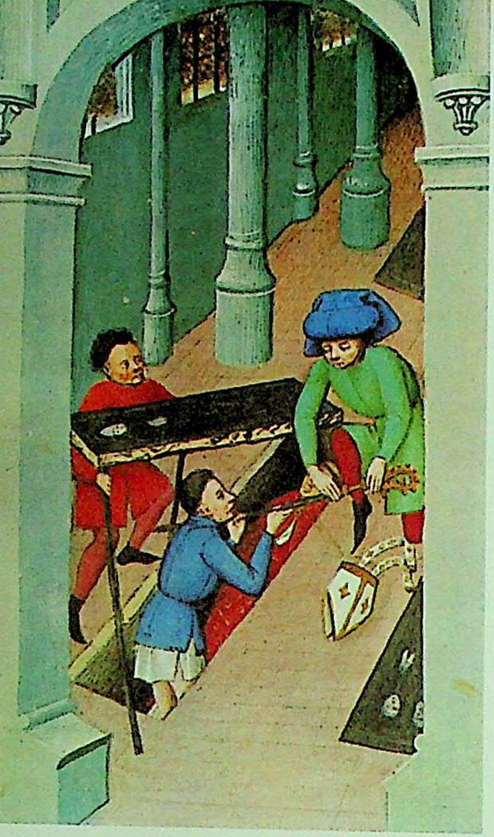
In 885 and again in 911 one of their leaders, Rollo, threatened Paris. On the second occasion, Charles the Simple, a grandson of that Charles who after Charlemagne's death had received the western part of the Frankish Empire, entered into negotiations with the Norsemen. An interview took place in 911 at St Clair-sur-Epte, on the road from Paris to Rouen. At this Charles ceded the basin of the lower Seine to the Norsemen, and Rollo became a Christian. This was the beginning of the dukedom of Normandy.

Above: Lothar, Charlemagne's eldest grandson, is shown on his throne in the costume of a Byzantine emperor. By the Treaty of Verdun (843), he received a long stretch of territory stretching from the Netherlands to Italy and separating France from Germany—territory which was to be much fought over in future centuries. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Left: these long, tapering Viking boats, propelled by oars, could carry fifty warriors. In such frail vessels, the Vikings braved the storms of the North Atlantic and sailed as far as Greenland and probably even to North America itself. The collapse of the empire enabled them to penetrate into western Europe.


Charles the Bald
Lothar
Louis the German
Papal States
NORTH SEA
VIKINGS
WALES
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
SAXONY
Magdeburg
Rhine
Aachen
AUSTRASIA
Mainz
Trier
Soissons
Paris
Verdun
Metz
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
SWABIA
Danube
MAGYARS
AVARS
BAVARIA
B U R G U
Poitiers
OF BISCAY
Lyons
LOMBARDY
Venice
Milan
AQUITAINE
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Toulouse
Pamplona
Fraxinet
SARACENS
Spoleto
Rome
PHATE
ORDOVA
Barcelona
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA

Western Europe after the Treaty of Verdun of 843, which divided the Carolingian Empire into three parts. The western and eastern parts, ruled by Charles the Bold of France and Louis the German respectively, possessed a certain unity and served as a basis for the eventual formation of France and Germany. Lothar's central kingdom, on the other hand, proved unstable and soon disintegrated.



Above: the interment of a bishop in his cathedral. He has been buried in his robes, and his crozier and mitre are being placed in the grave. Detail from a manuscript. (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.)
Right: a royal procession. The king, carrying his sceptre, is accompanied by monks bearing a cross and bishops with their croziers. Such ceremonies showed the great part taken by the medieval Church in human life from beginning to end, from the highest to the lowest. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

In fact, the papacy did not recover from this dark period until late in the eleventh century. The most important figure in the revival was Hildebrand, who was the determined leader of the reforming party during the reign of several popes. He had a high view of the obligations of the clerical life and the standards which its members should observe in order that they might be accorded by the people the respect due to their sacred office and the demands of their religious teaching. When Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII in 1073, he set out to extend the temporal dominion of the papacy over the kings and kingdoms of the earth, a design in which he was only partially successful.

Nevertheless, papal control over the Church itself was firmly established. The Church became a monarchy, centralised in the Roman court or curia, which considered all important ecclesiastical questions in its deliberations. The pope made his deliberations known by 'bulls', so-called from the Latin *bulla*, the flattened sphere of lead affixed as a seal at the bottom of the parchment. As vicar of Christ, he had the sole power to grant absolution for the gravest sins, and he asserted his authority over the rest of the clergy.

The most important clergy in every country were the archbishops and bishops. Each governed a diocese, a district formed of groups of parishes. His own church was his cathedral, in which he had his *cathedra* or throne. The bishops had attained a high position in feudal society. They had palaces, lived in state and travelled with many servants; and, as well as being ecclesiastical officials, they were employed by monarchs as their ministers or ambassadors. In order to impose its authority on the bishops, from the eleventh century the papacy sent legates to various countries, fortified with far-reaching powers, but the jurisdiction of important ecclesiastics like the archbishop of Canterbury or the archbishop of Sens in France remained very considerable.

The Church's worldly power

The increased power and activity of the papacy compelled it to resort to various means of raising money. The pope's income from his territory was inadequate for his needs, and he had to rely upon offerings and, above all, fees due on such occasions as appeals to the Roman curia, confirmations of privileges to abbeys or translations of bishops. This soon led to complaints of increasing corruption and extravagance in the papal court. Twelfth-century popes had to borrow money and employed Lombard bankers to manage their finances.

In addition, every diocese, cathedral and abbey possessed lands, chiefly gifts from devout laymen, and on these feudal payments had to be made to overlords. There were other sources of revenue as well. The Church possessed many manors or feudal estates, and from these it drew the revenue due from its tenants. The parochial clergy were maintained by tithes, the payment of a tenth part of all the produce of the lands. These were of two sorts—the great tithe, payable on all grain, wine and large animals raised by the farmer, and the lesser tithe, payable on fruits, vegetables and smaller animals, such as chickens and doves. The revenue of the Church was uneven, for some abbeys or parishes were better off than others, but on the whole it was wealthy.

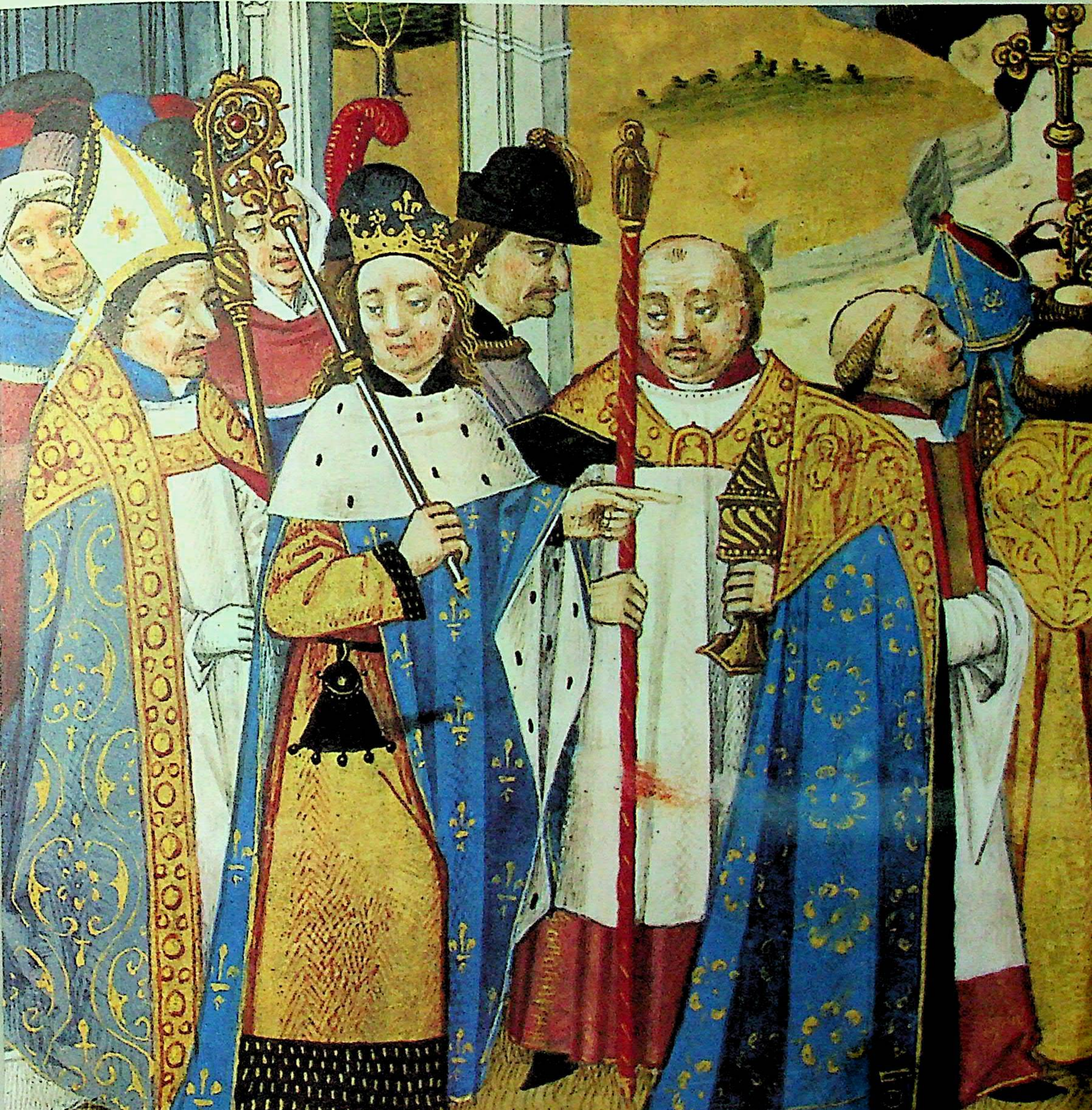
The authority of the Church was expressed in the collection of ecclesiastical rules known as canon law, which had to be kept by both clergy and laity. Canon law was strongly influenced by ancient Roman law and, since feudal or manorial customs prevailed rather than universal, national civil laws, it was the most civilised of the age. It affected deeply the daily life of the people, since marriage, the care of children, the taking of oaths, usury, legitimacy and tithes were all covered by it. Its influence spread beyond the Church, and it played an important part in the shaping of medieval civilisation.

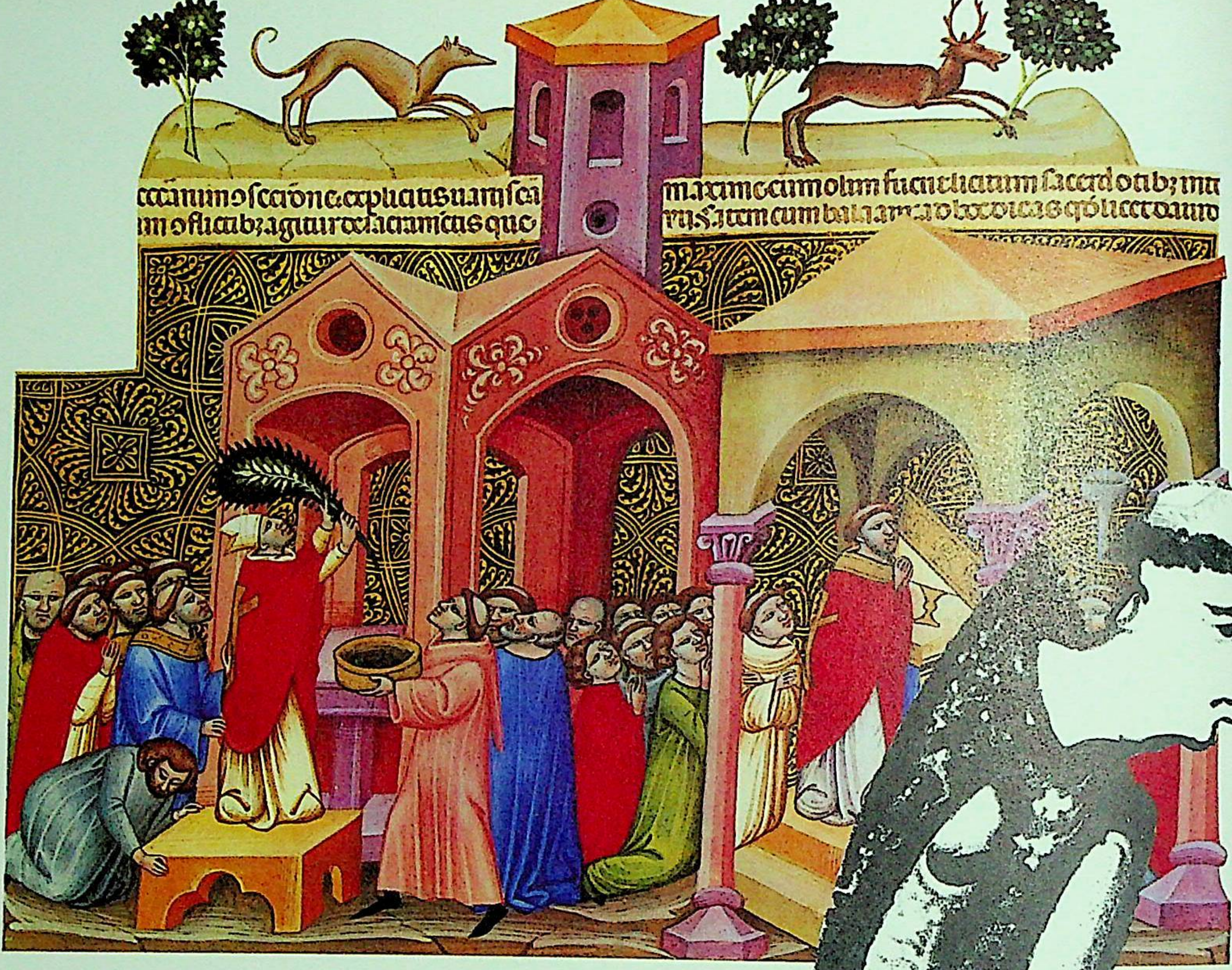
The enforcement of canon law was effected by the ecclesiastical courts. The Church insisted that the clergy should be tried in these courts alone, and that the severest penalty they could inflict on a cleric guilty of murder or other serious crime was to degrade him to the position of a layman again. Moreover, all lay people were subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts for breaches of canon law. Many offences received only minor punishments. A man might be fined for absence from church or a woman whipped on her bare back with a knotted length of hempen cord for doing her washing on a Sunday. For serious offences, such as heresy, the supreme penalty was excommunication, exclusion from membership of the Church. This was a grave punishment because secular rulers upheld the authority of the ecclesiastical courts. An excommunicated person might be outlawed or imprisoned or, if a heretic, burnt.

The life of the cloister

In the middle ages the highest form of religious devotion was to be found in the monastic life. The monks and nuns who chose this condition were seeking a more spiritual life than was usually possible in the everyday world. Christian monasticism began early in the fourth century in the desert of Egypt, where men began to live as hermits, occupying themselves in prayer and manual labour. From there it spread throughout Europe, and the first monks, such as those in Ireland, lived in communities of huts grouped together to form villages of their own.

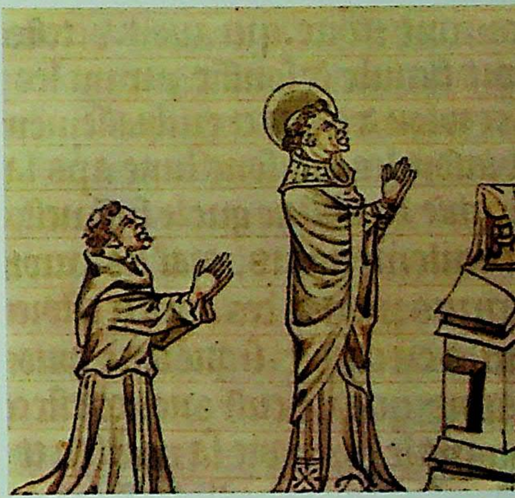
The great epoch of western monasticism began, however, in the sixth century with St Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine rule. From the colour of their habit the

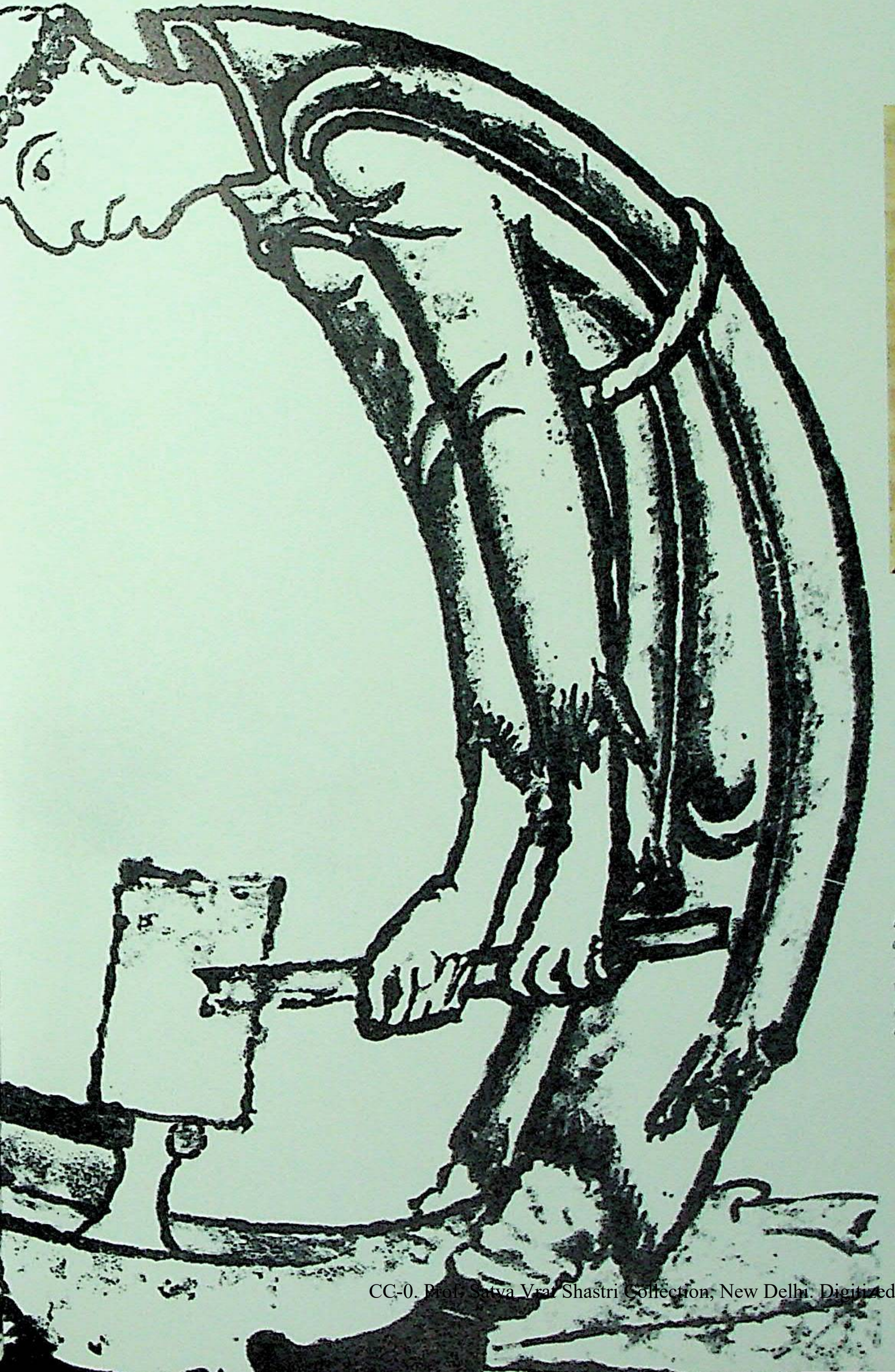




Benedictines were known as the black monks, and they soon established themselves in many countries. Among their houses in England were such great abbeys as Westminster, Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Glastonbury and Peterborough.

The great virtues recommended in the rule of St Benedict were obedience to superiors and humility. The monks must not live as they themselves wished, but as their abbot or prior ordered; the way in which they were to say their daily services was laid down precisely. The ruling idea of their life was seclusion. The monks were to live apart from the society of ordinary people so that they could attain virtue and holiness. Yet this did not mean that the monasteries had no effect upon the world. Everywhere they became powerful missionary agencies which saved Christianity from being completely overwhelmed by the continual advance of the pagan barbarians. Indeed, for nearly a thousand years the monastic ideal dominated the Church in the West, influencing the form of its religion and providing it with its greatest strength and inspiration. Medieval religion became almost synonymous with monasticism.



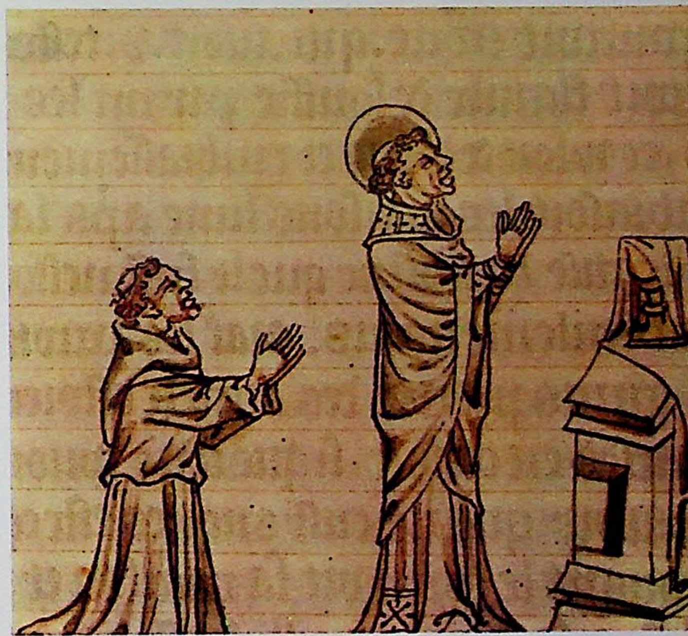


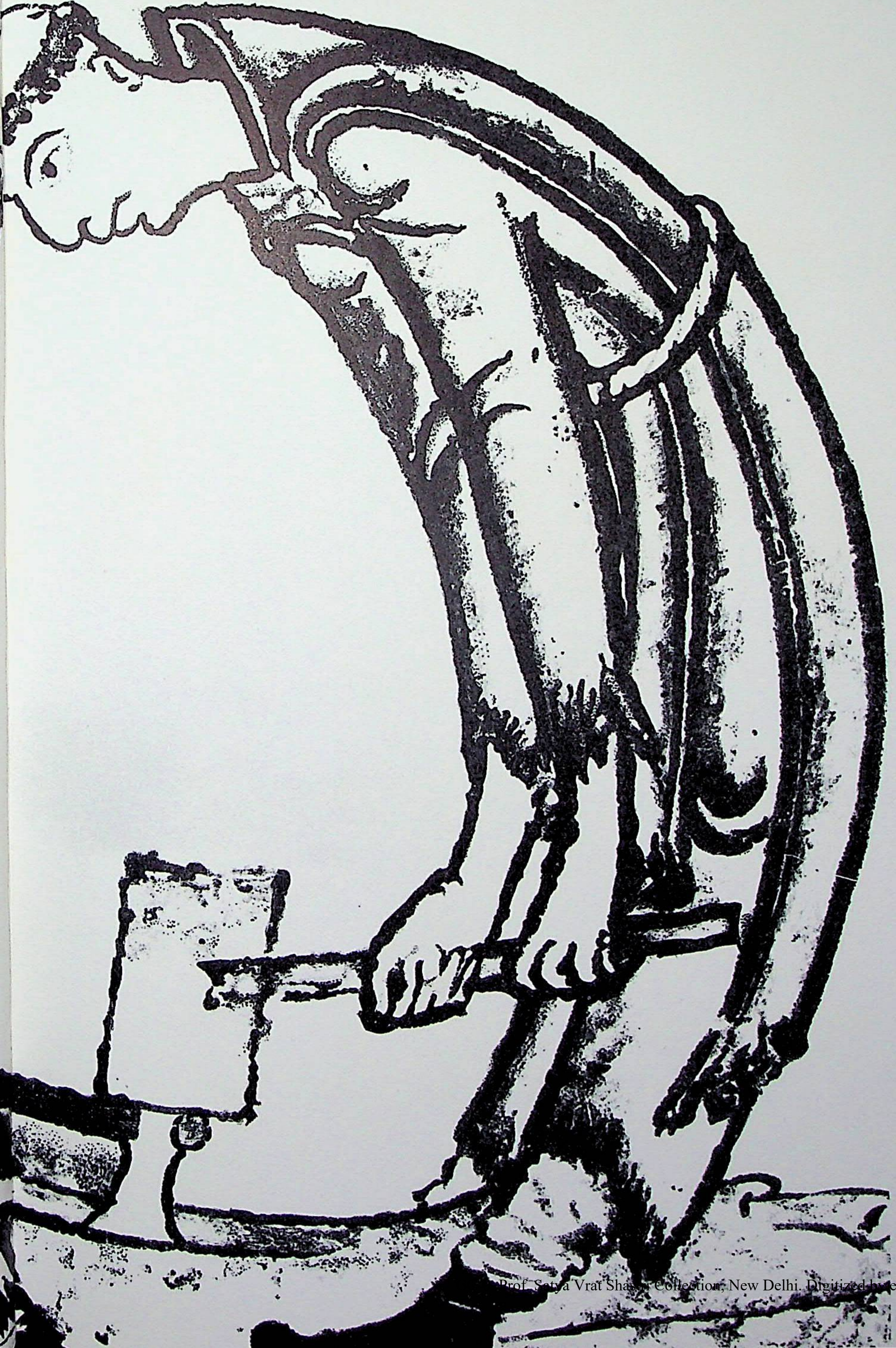
Far left: a bishop consecrates a newly built abbey, sprinkling its wall with holy water. The frieze above suggests that this abbey was a Cistercian one, built in the midst of a forest to ensure the solitude desired by the monks. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The Cistercians possessed large estates which they cultivated, and they helped to spread new agricultural ideas.

Left: two monks chopping wood. From a manuscript. (Bibliothèque de Dijon.)

Above: St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), an outstanding Cistercian monk, celebrates mass. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





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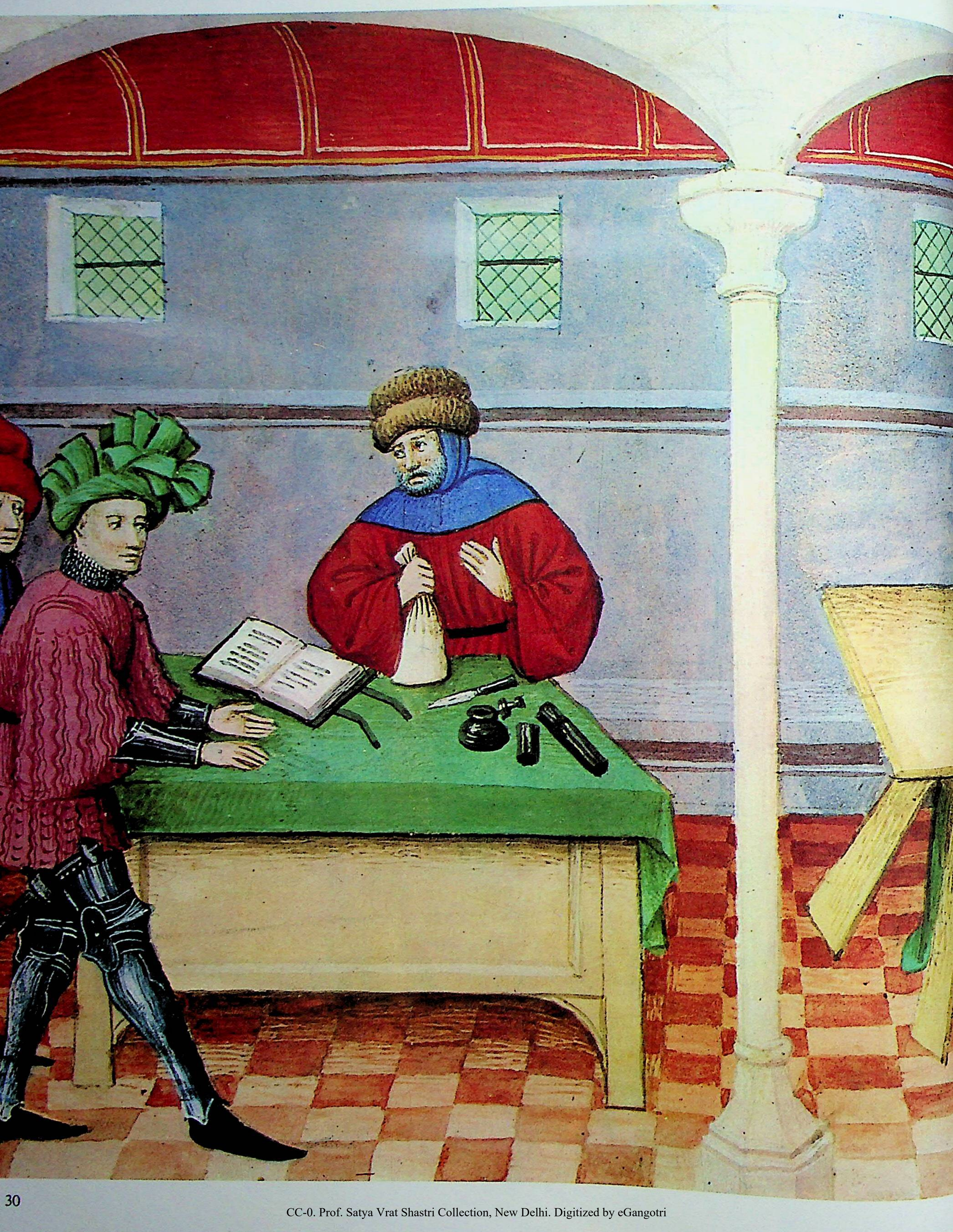
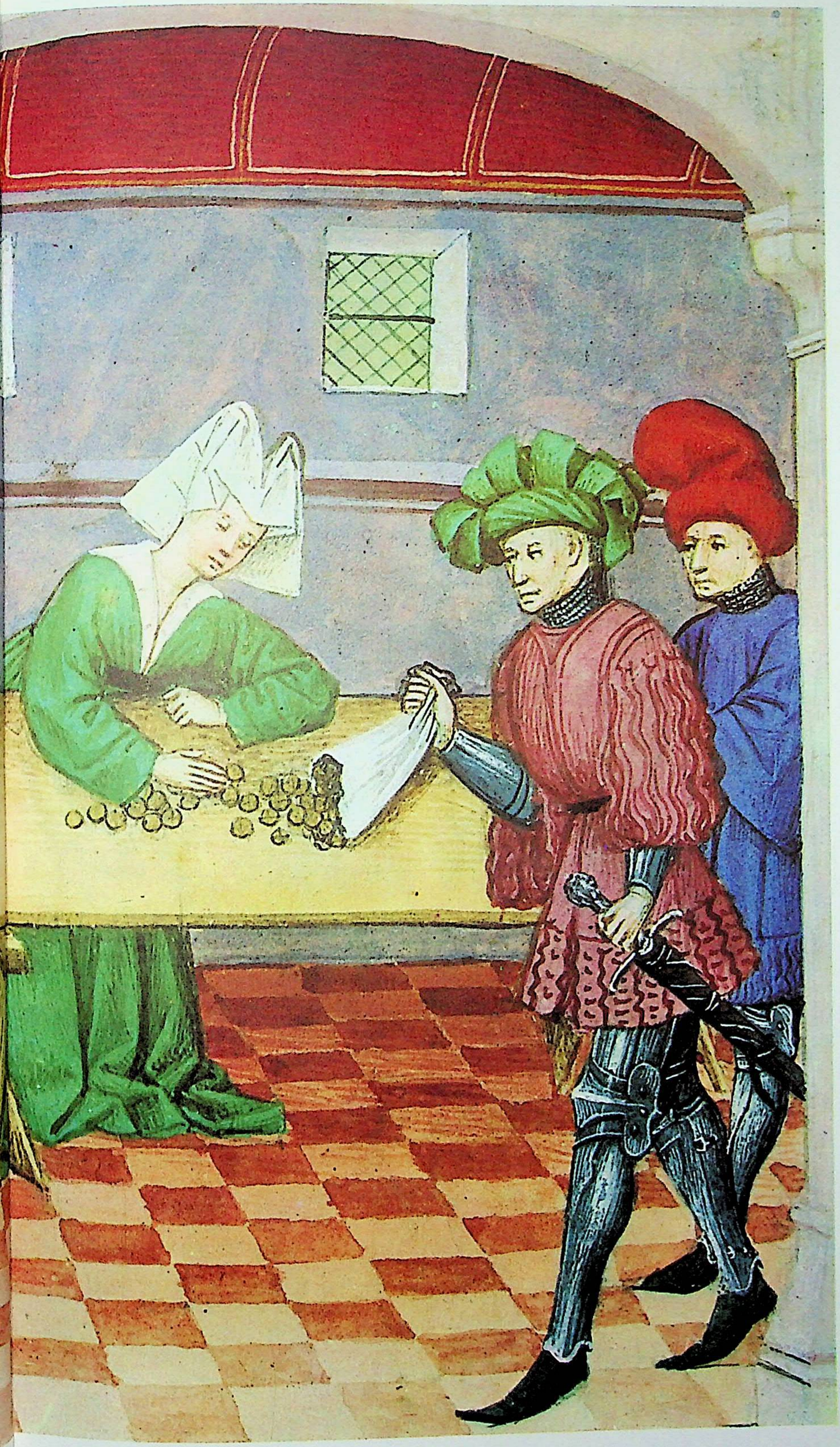




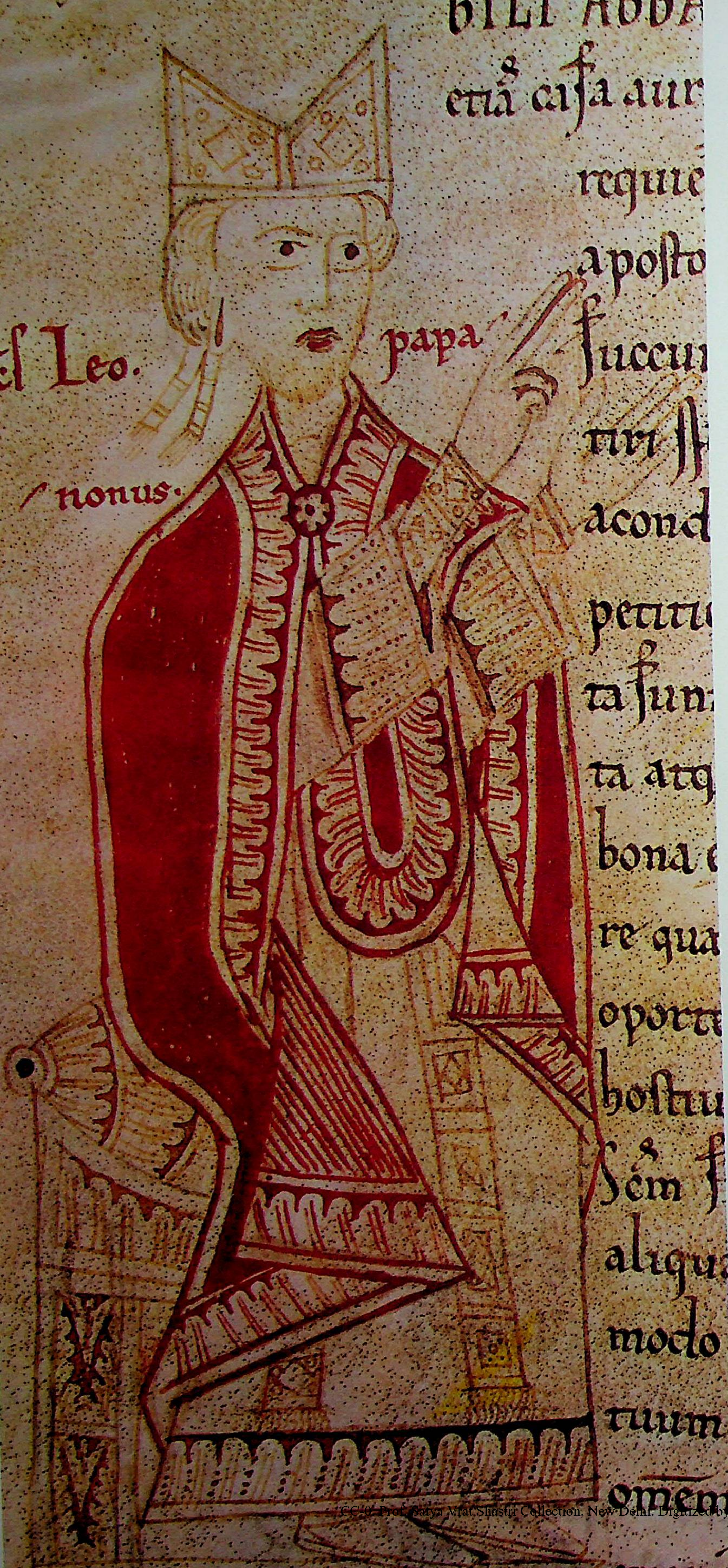
Benedictine decline and Cluniac reform

With the passing of centuries, however, many Benedictine monasteries departed from the strict rule of their founder. They received large gifts of land, so that they became wealthy, and the monks led lax and comfortable lives. In the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries new and reformed orders were created to revive monasticism and enable it to meet the new needs of the times. The first of these, and in many ways the model for the rest, was the Cluniac order. This came into being at the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, founded in 910 by William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine, who wanted the abbey to observe the Benedictine rule in its original strictness. Its reputation under its first two abbots, St Berno and St Odo, attracted men who wanted to take monasticism seriously, and an ever growing number of monastic houses followed its example.

Cluniac monasteries gave more time to worship and correspondingly less time to manual labour, but the greatest innovation was their relationship with each other. Whereas the Benedictine abbeys were independent, equal foundations, capable of survival in a Europe subjected to barbarian inroads, the Cluniac houses formed a disciplined, organised congregation, controlled from the abbey of Cluny itself, and so capable of united action in Christendom. Cluny alone was ruled by an abbot, and he visited the other houses, which were governed only by priors, to see that they obeyed the rules and followed the policy of the order. The Cluniac monasteries increased so rapidly in number that within 200 years of the founding of Cluny there were more than 2,000 of them.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries particularly, the Cluniacs exerted a decisive influence on the life of the Church. Its abbots and priors came from noble families, who increasingly gained the confidence of popes and monarchs and yet themselves declined high office as archbishops or cardinals. The ideals largely inspired the reforms of Leo IX, who was pope from 1048 to 1054, and of Gregory VIII, who had himself been a monk at Cluny. Both these men insisted upon such measures as celibacy of the clergy and the repression of simony.

By the end of the eleventh century, the papacy had become very wealthy. The popes employed Lombard bankers (left) to manage their affairs. The higher clergy and the papal court often led a luxurious life, far removed from the ideal of poverty. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.)



The austere Carthusians

The Carthusian order, unlike the Cluniac and other orders, was not a reform of the Benedictine rule. It had more in common with the earlier hermits of the east, and it was a strictly contemplative order. Its founder was St Bruno, a canon of Cologne, who in 1084 built a monastery at the Grande Chartreuse in a wild tract of land in south-eastern France. Isolation and poverty were its principles. Its monks were vowed to silence, and each lived in his own cell within the monastery, where he prayed and studied, and met his brethren only at worship and for meals on feast days.

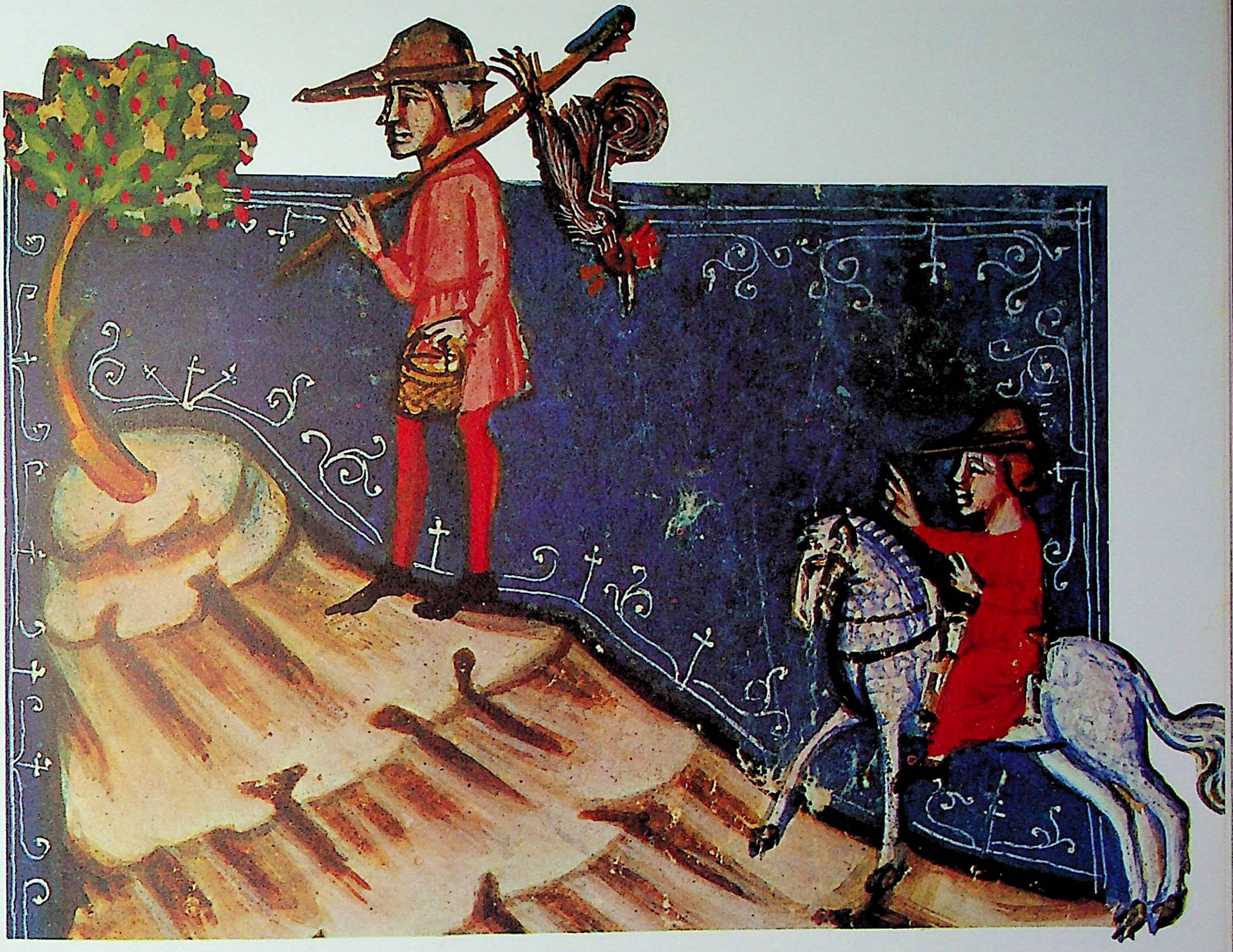
Many Carthusian monasteries were founded, especially in France. In England nine were established, known as 'charterhouses', the most famous being in London. The careful selection by the Carthusians of candidates for their order and their steady rejection of the world and its wealth ensured that, unlike other orders, they retained both their early zeal and their prestige throughout the middle ages.

The white monks: the Cistercians

Meanwhile, many of the monasteries of the Congregation of Cluny had in their turn become wealthy, possessing fine buildings and much treasure. In protest against such magnificence and growing laxity, the Cistercian order, the greatest of the new monastic orders, came into being. In 1098 Robert, prior of Molesme, a Cluniac monastery, and a group of his monks, who were troubled by its failings, left to establish a new house at Cîteaux, which was situated in a marshy forest not far from Dijon. There they sought to establish a form of Benedictinism stricter and more primitive than anything then existing. The new order owed most of its success to the second abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, and St Bernard of Clairvaux, the preacher of the Second Crusade, who became a Cistercian in 1113. Before the end of the twelfth century more than 500 Cistercian abbeys had been founded.

The constitution of the Cistercian order aimed at devising a system that was mid-way between the strict centralisation of the Congregation of Cluny and the independent isolation of the Benedictine houses. Each new Cisterian abbey had a mother house, the abbot of which visited it annually, and the abbey in turn might become a mother house with dependent houses to supervise. Cîteaux itself was visited by the abbots of its four oldest dependent houses; and once a year all the abbots came together at Cîteaux in order to regulate and discuss the affairs of the order.

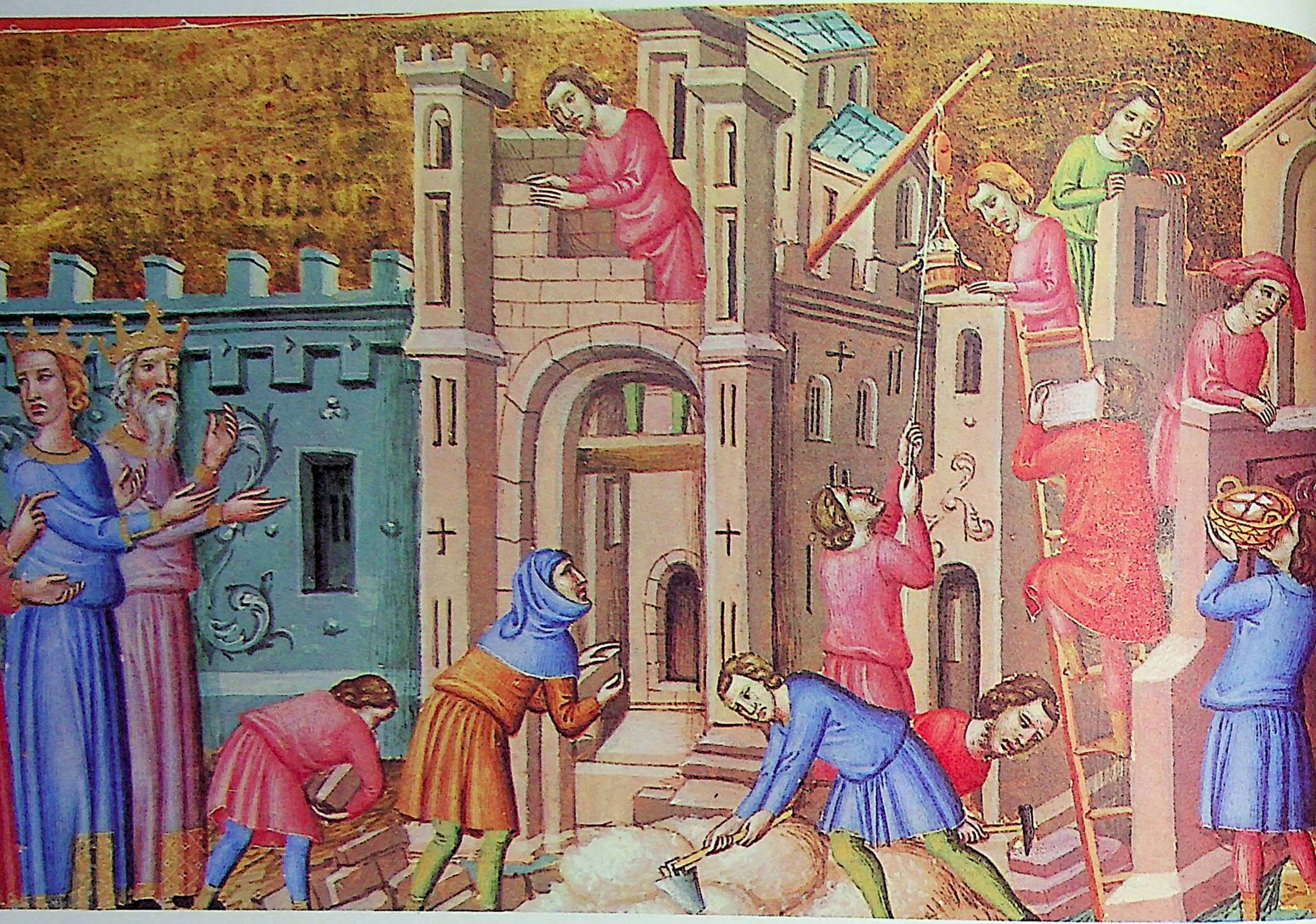
The Cistercians chose remote locations in the countryside for their monasteries. Their churches were not grandiose like those of



Opposite: Pope Leo IX, who was elected to the papacy in 1048. He was a keen reformer of the Church, forbidding clerical marriage and the selling of ecclesiastical posts.
Above: pilgrims on the way to a shrine. The one on foot carries his next meal and a cooking-pot. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

the Cluniacs, but devoid of rich decoration, and their ornaments and vestments were not made from precious materials. Since their robes were made from undyed wool, they were often called the white monks. During the greater part of the year they ate only one meal a day; they never touched fish, meat, eggs or fat, and milk but rarely. They were expected to engage in manual labour, but were assisted by lay brothers, who took the monastic vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, lived in the monastery and performed many of the monastic tasks so that the monks could have time for worship, prayer and study.

More than 100 Cistercian houses were founded in England. The best known of these were the great abbeys, such as Fountains, Jervaulx and Rievaulx, in the Yorkshire dales. These were established in what was at first overgrown forest or barren wasteland. Fountains Abbey, for instance, was built on a site 'thick-set' with thorns, lying between the slopes of mountains and among rocks jutting out on both sides, fit rather to be the lair of wild beasts than the home of human beings.' There, however, as at the other Yorkshire abbeys, the Cistercian monks and lay brothers cleared the land for large flocks of sheep and in the thirteenth century were the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom. In other countries, too, they worked their 'granges' or farms with great efficiency and were agricultural pioneers.

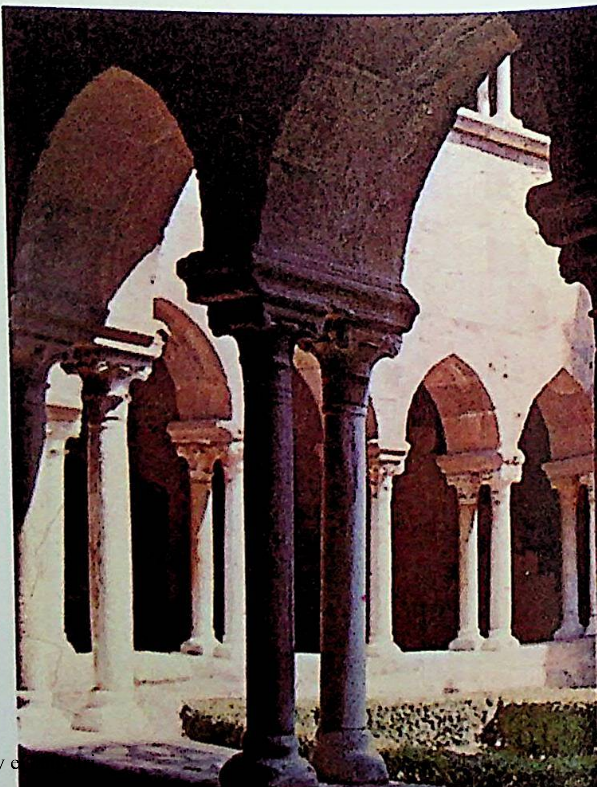


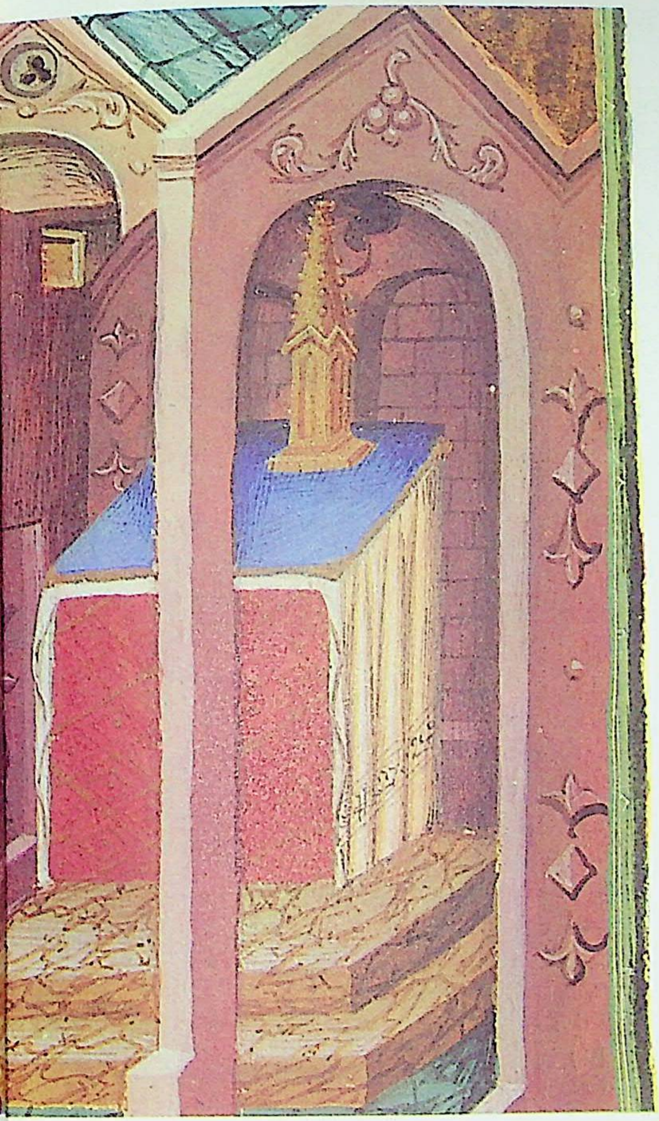
Above: the building of a church. The twelfth entury was a great age of church onstruction. Builders were now able to mulate the Romans in the art of cutting and dressing stone. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Below right: the cloisters of the monastery at Fréjus in the south of France.

Other monks and nuns

he Benedictines, Cluniacs, Carthusians nd Cistercians were the most important nonastic orders in the middle ages, but there vere others as well. Between the years 1020 nd 1120 alone, no fewer than eight new rders were formed. Among these were the Augustinian Canons, who came into being ate in the eleventh century. They were riests who lived together in communities ccording to a rule which they claimed was n conformity with the teaching of St Augustine of Hippo. In many ways they ived the same sort of life as ordinary monks, out their rule was flexible enough to allow hem to undertake various tasks. Some of hem took care of parishes and others supervised hospitals; St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's hospitals in London were both originally Augustinian houses. Another new order of canons were the Premonstratensians, founded in 1120 at Prémontré, near Laon, by St Norbert, who prescribed for them a rule which was strongly influenced by the austerity of the Cistercians.

The development of monasticism was shared by women. St Benedict himself and his sister, St Scholastica, had founded an order of Benedictine nuns, and the new orders also had houses for women. The duties of the nuns in respect of worship and prayer were the same as those of the monks, and they also performed needlework and other tasks. In general the nunneries were much less well endowed than the monasteries, but some of the old Benedictine foundations, particularly in Germany, were wealthy and confined their membership to women of noble rank. Medieval nunneries always suffered from the practice by families of sending unwanted daughters to them, especially those for whom dowries could not be found.



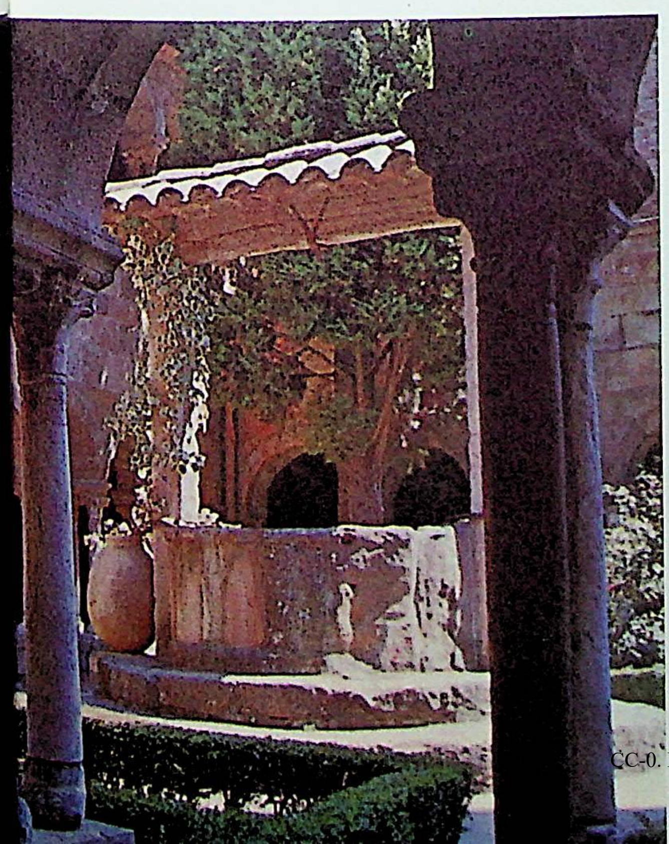


The faith of the middle ages

In every country in western Europe during the middle ages the faith taught by the Church played a supremely important part in the life of the people from the highest to the lowest. On Sundays and holy days they attended its services. These were still in Latin, which few people in an ordinary congregation understood, but they could all learn something in the church from the stained glass windows, the wall-paintings, the crucifix over the rood screen and the great doom, which was a prominent painting of the Last Judgement. There were also statues and images of the saints, whose prayers to God the people were taught to invoke.

Much of the religious life of the people in the middle ages rested upon the sacraments of the Church, which by the fourteenth century were generally accepted as being seven in number—baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders and matrimony. Of these, it was the eucharist (or the mass) which meant most in the religious life of the people. Each celebration of the mass re-enacted Christ's sacrifice on the cross: at it his body and blood were offered anew to appease God for man's sin. In 1215 the fourth Lateran Council adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation, which held that in the mass the whole substance of the bread and wine was converted into Christ's body and blood and that only the appearance of bread and wine remained.

Pilgrimages also had an important place in medieval religious life. It was an early custom for Christians to go to Jerusalem and visit the places consecrated by the presence of Christ, and Rome too was always a place of pilgrimage. Most common, however, were pilgrimages to shrines which contained the relics of a saint. Among the most famous centres of pilgrimage in Europe were Santiago de Compostela, traditionally supposed to be the place of burial of St James the Apostle, and Cologne, where the cathedral contained the shrine of the Magi. In England, the most popular shrines were the tombs of St Thomas Becket in Canterbury cathedral, St Alban in St Albans abbey, St Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey and St Cuthbert in Durham cathedral. Few large churches were without some important relic, and even the poorest people could therefore make at least one pilgrimage in their lifetime.



Romanesque architecture

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries church building on a vast scale took place in every country of western Europe. A French chronicler, Ralph Glaber, wrote, 'it was as if the world, casting off its old garments to renew its youth, set out to reclothe itself everywhere with a white mantle of churches.'

During this period the Romanesque type of architecture prevailed. Builders had now succeeded in equalling the skill of the ancient Romans in cutting and dressing stone. The chief features of Romanesque architecture were the stone-vaulted roof and the round-headed arch, both of which the builders borrowed from the Romans, and structural massiveness. The plan of the churches was usually a Latin cross, formed from the Roman basilica by the addition of transepts and an extended chancel. Early Romanesque decoration was simple, but later the round-headed arch was combined with richly carved columns and capitals and sculptured figures.

Since many French churches were monastic, they were developed more elaborately at the eastern end where the monks said their daily services. The abbey church at Cluny (1089–1131) was built with double transepts, which have eastern apses, and double aisles. The aisles continue round the main apse from which radiate subsidiary chapels where the monks said their masses. This French innovation is to be found in other churches, notably St Sersin, Toulouse (1081–96), and the Abbaye-aux-Hommes, Caen (1066–77), with its nine spires.

In England, before the eleventh century, the Anglo-Saxons had rarely used stone in building their churches. However, the Normans were skilled in the Romanesque style of architecture, and after the Norman Conquest in 1066 their craftsmanship soon began to make itself felt. Within a century they had rebuilt in stone almost all the cathedral churches and abbeys in England. They had also either founded or rebuilt a large number of parish churches in every part of the country. Undoubtedly one of the most striking examples of their church-building is the cathedral at Durham (c. 1093–1130), which stands out as a strong and massive symbol of their skill and resolution.

Rome in conflict with the empire

Although the medieval Church adapted itself with remarkable ease to the feudal society of western Europe and influenced every aspect of the life of the age, it had, nevertheless, to struggle to assert its position. In the tenth century it was weak and under the control of the Roman nobility until in 963 Otto the Great asserted his right to nominate the pope. The reforming movement in the Church in the eleventh century demanded that control by secular rulers should cease. In 1059 Pope Nicholas II decreed that papal elections should rest with the cardinals. The chief opponents in the subsequent quarrel between emperor and pope were Henry IV and Gregory VII.

The prelude to the quarrel

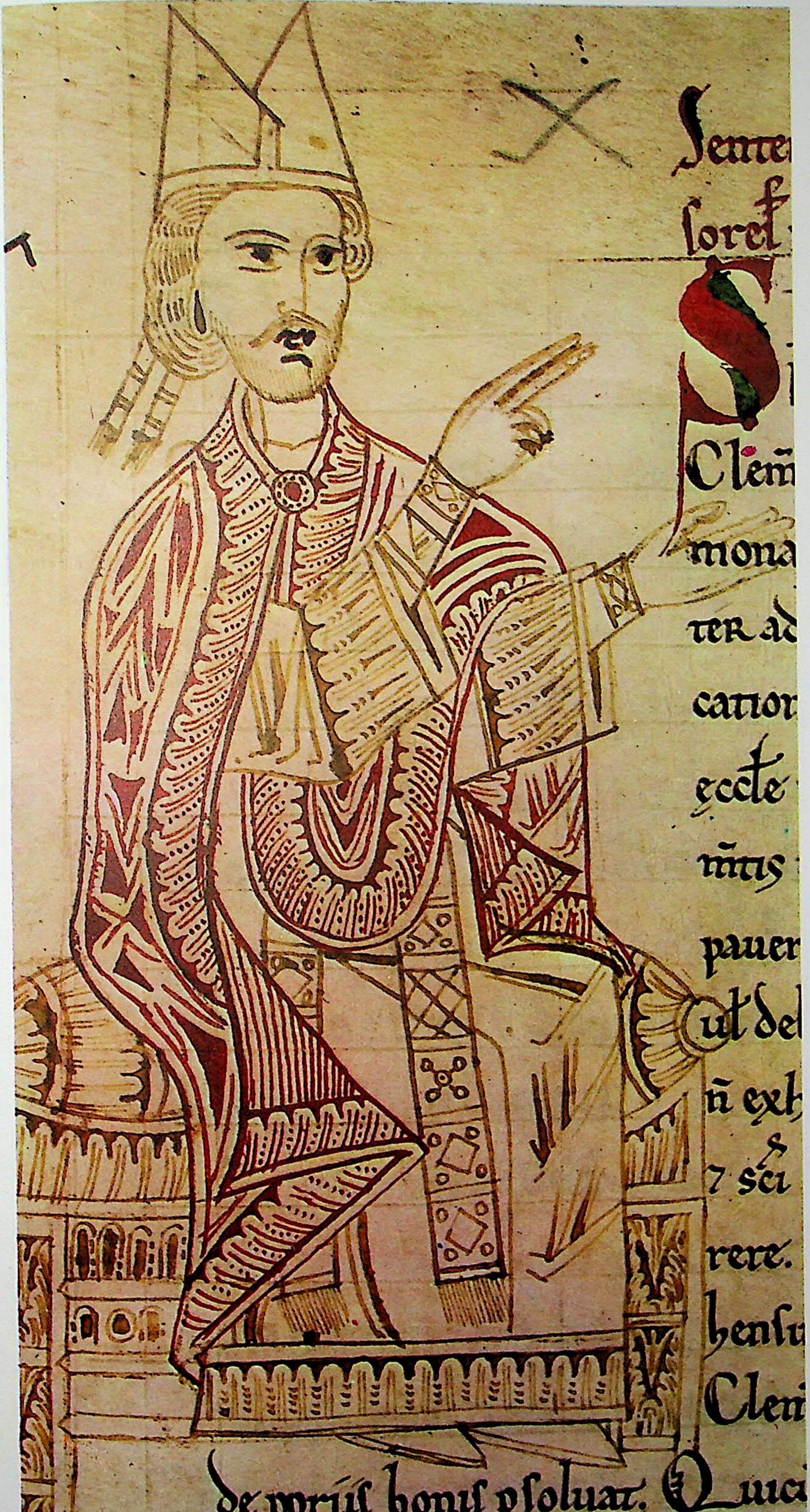
The German realm was the first Frankish country to recover from the disorder of the late ninth century. The revival of the German monarchy began with the election in 919 of Henry, Duke of Saxony, later nicknamed 'the Fowler', as the first non-Frankish King of the East Frankish kingdom, and he was succeeded in 936 by his son, Otto I the Great. Both father and son set out to consolidate their rule in Germany. In particular, the eastern marches and forests between the Elbe and the Oder were made subject to the monarchy, and Bohemia also became a tributary state.

Having firmly established his power in Germany, Otto wished to follow in the footsteps of Charlemagne by having himself crowned as emperor and securing a special position as protector of the papacy. Events drew him into Italian politics. The peninsula was in a condition verging on anarchy through poverty and famine, the raids of Saracens and Hungarians, and the contentions of feudal princes and bogus emperors. In 951 Otto crossed the Alps with an army, defeated his rivals and became King of Italy. A request by him to the pope that he might be crowned in Rome was refused, but eleven years later his opportunity came in circumstances very similar to those of Charlemagne.

In 959 John XII, who had become pope because his father was the leader of the Roman nobility, appealed to Otto for help against the rulers of northern Italy. Otto came, defeated the pope's enemies and arrived in Rome where he was crowned emperor in 962. The emperor also granted the pope the *Privilegium Ottonis* by which he assured the papacy of his protection, but also insisted upon the emperor's right to confirm the election of the pope by the 'clergy and people of Rome', a right which had been conceded to the emperor Lothar I in 824. When Otto left Rome, John XII sought to regain his independence, but Otto returned and obtained his replacement by a layman, Leo VIII, who was made a bishop within two days and had to agree that no future pope was to be consecrated until he had taken an oath of loyalty to the emperor. On Otto's second departure from Rome, John again returned and secured Leo's deposition, but he died while Otto was on his way back. In 964 the Romans elected another pope, Benedict V. Otto starved the city into surrender and reinstated Leo. The emperor's triumph was complete.

Italy, however, had an unfortunate attraction for Otto's successors, Otto II (973–83) and Otto III (983–1002). Both sought to assert their authority over the peninsula with the result that they suffered frustration and disaster, while Germany fell again into disorder. Nevertheless, under the next three emperors, Henry II (1002–24), Conrad II (1024–39) and Henry III (1039–56), imperial power revived, and the empire reached the height of its strength and prosperity. The

Above: the cloisters of the monastery at Palermo in Sicily, which was well situated to receive the artistic influence of both the ancient world and the East, as is shown by the Greek-style design of acanthus leaves on the capitals of the columns.
Right: Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), who put forward the principles of papal supremacy. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



influence of the nobility was checked, the new kingdoms of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia paid homage to the emperor, and the kingdom of Burgundy (or Arles) was made part of the empire, so that Henry III possessed all Charlemagne's dominions except France. As a result of rivalry among the Roman nobility, there were by 1045 three rival popes, each claiming to be the rightful holder of the post. Henry III, who became known as the 'maker of popes', deposed all three and secured the election of a succession of German popes. However, this imperial control of the papacy was not to last.

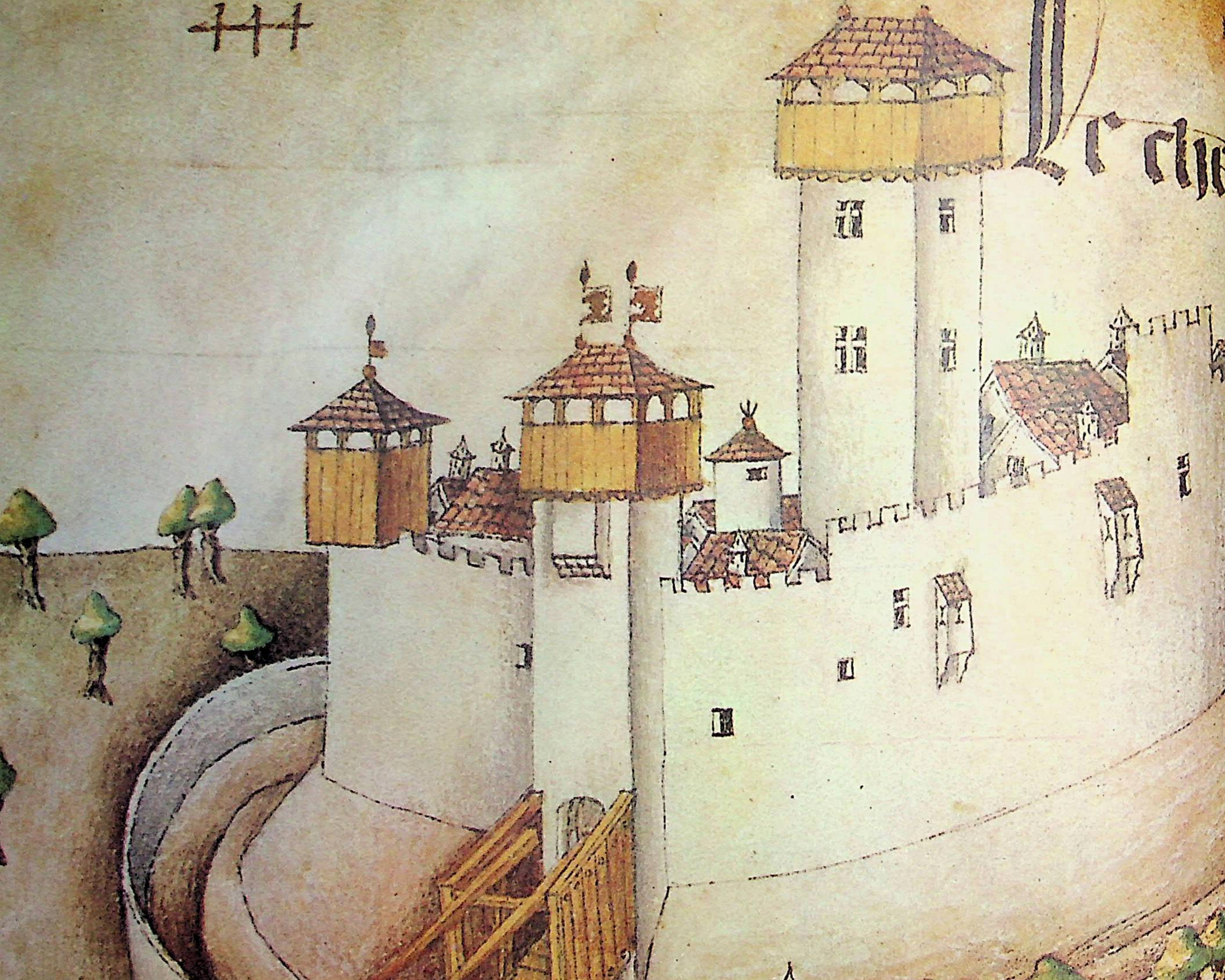
The arrival of the Normans

Meanwhile, a new force had appeared in Italy and a new factor had to be considered in the relations between the papacy and the empire. In 1016 the Normans had arrived in southern Italy as mercenaries at the invitation of one of the Lombard rulers. They soon realised that the feuds which distracted this part of the peninsula provided them with a good opportunity to conquer the country for themselves. By 1030 they had created a principality of their own in Naples and were engaged in extending its boundaries.

The Normans were ruthless conquerors, and tales of the atrocities they were committing in southern Italy reached Rome. Moved by the sufferings of the people, Pope Leo IX resolved to bring about the expulsion of the invaders. Having failed to obtain assistance from either Henry III or the Byzantine emperor, he himself led an expedition southwards, but his makeshift army was no match for the Normans. His isolated attack ended in his defeat and capture at Civitate in 1053. He was soon released, but he died in Rome the next year, bringing an important, reforming pontificate to a humiliating conclusion.

Before long, however, papal policy towards the Normans underwent a startling change. The death of Henry III was a fatal blow to imperial control of the papacy. His son, who was elected to succeed him as Henry IV, was only six years old, and his mother, the Empress Agnes of Poitou, was made regent. When Victor II, the last of Henry III's popes, died in 1057, the reformers in the Church succeeded in choosing as his successor one of their number, Cardinal Frederick of Lotharingia, who took the name of Stephen IX, and the regent weakly agreed to recognise him. The danger of this precedent was soon seen. Stephen died the next year and was followed by another reforming pope, Nicholas II, who decreed in 1059 that future popes were to be elected only by the cardinals.

This time the regent refused to accept such a clear challenge to imperial authority. To secure an ally the pope turned to the Normans. In 1059 he accepted their leader, Robert Guiscard, as his vassal. Robert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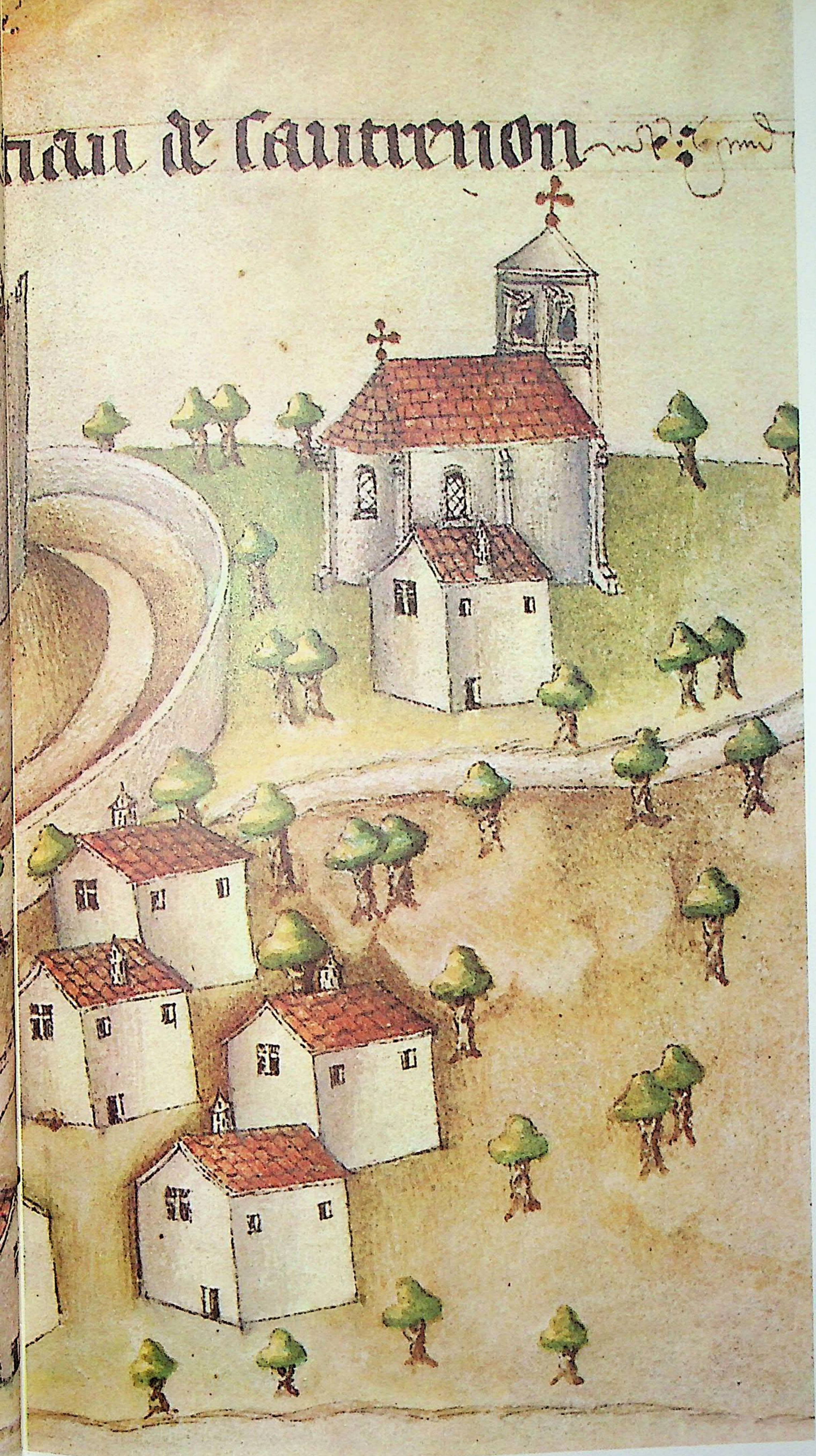


promised to uphold the independence of the papacy, and the pope in return recognised his conquests and conferred on him the title of duke. This was further defiance of the emperor who claimed complete authority over all Italy, including the right to dispose of lands and bestow titles. The open rupture between the papacy and the empire had already begun.

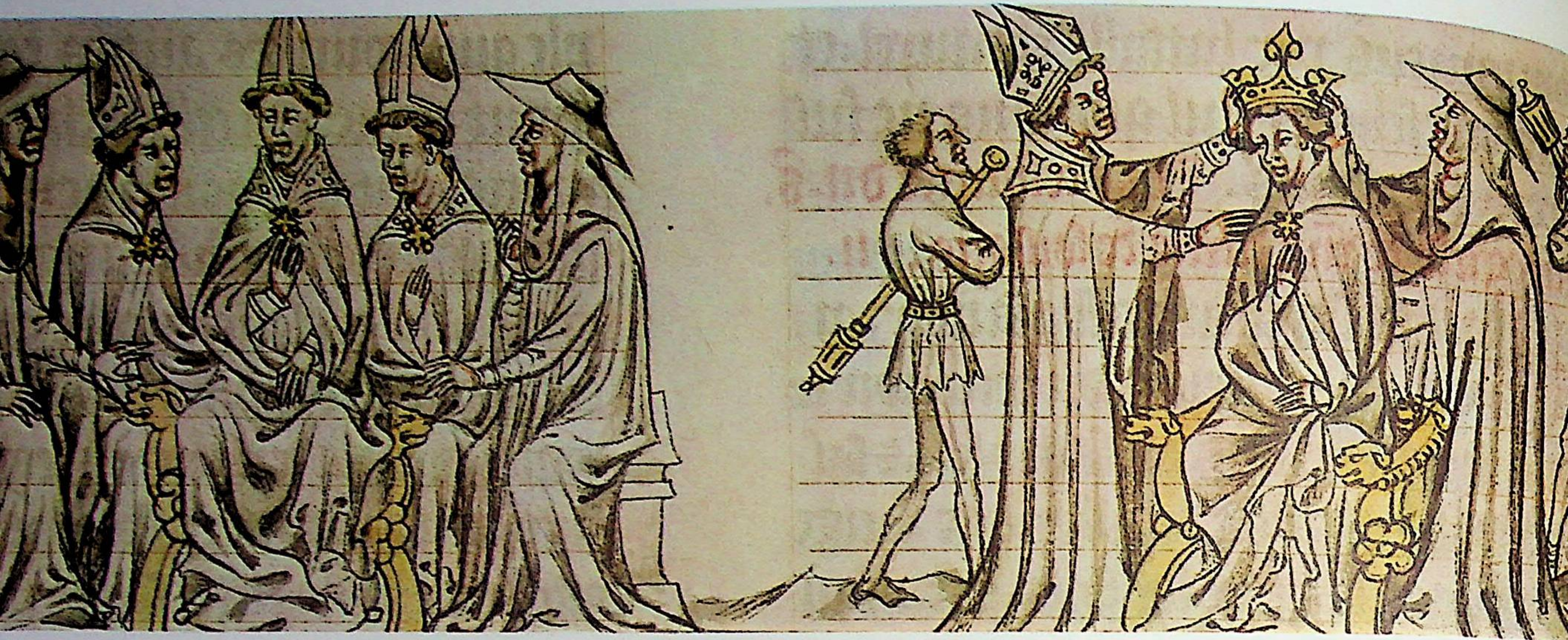
The revival of the Church

Actual hostilities came soon after the elevation of Hildebrand to the papacy as Gregory VII in 1073. As archdeacon of the Roman Church, he had already exercised great influence in the administration of the papacy, and his election by the cardinals was unanimous. He was bold and combative, practical and even unscrupulous in pursuing his aims. His brief sojourn at Cluny from 1047 to 1049 had strengthened his austere views about the obligations of clerical life and his resolve to free the Church from lay control.

Although Gregory was a determined reformer, the ideas he held were neither revolutionary nor original. Ecclesiastical reformers had already urged that certain measures must be taken for the good of the Church. One of these was the insistence that the clergy should not marry. This had been accepted by the Roman Church as far back as the fourth century, but had not been rigorously enforced. Another was the abolition of simony, the buying and selling of ecclesiastical offices. These two desired reforms were connected with eath other, since the sons of clergy were often provided with ecclesiastical preferment by their fathers. In a synod at Rome in 1074 Gregory condemned clerical marriage and simony and subsequently took energetic measures to bring them to an end. In this way, the clergy became detached from the laity, while at the same time the encouragement of auricular confession increased their power over them.

Ecclesiastical reformers also wanted the Church to be freed as much as possible from outside control. In 1075 Gregory issued the *Dictatus Papae*, a list of twenty-seven principles of papal policy. This included a condemnation of the practice of investiture by which the emperor and other lay princes claimed the right to invest a bishop-elect with the ring and staff of his office and to

Before the drawbridge of a castle like this, Henry IV sought pardon from Pope Gregory VII at Canossa in 1077. The emperor is said to have stood for three days in the snow outside the pope's lodgings before he was granted absolution from excommunication. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The Concordat of Worms (1122) put an end to the Investiture Controversy. The pope (above), after having consulted with his cardinals, crowns the Holy Roman emperor, Lothar III. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

receive homage from him before his consecration. This practice had enabled the emperor to strengthen the position of the monarchy in relation to the hereditary nobility by choosing and controlling both the bishops and the wealth and jurisdiction attached to their sees. He was bound to resist its abolition strongly.

Humiliation at Canossa

The result was the investiture controversy between Henry IV and Gregory VII. When Henry had grown to manhood, he ruled with vigour and soon showed himself to be ambitious, iron-willed and hot-tempered. He imposed his will upon the nobility and recovered the authority lost by the monarchy during the years of his minority until he had established himself firmly as lord of all Germany. He was not the man to accept Gregory's challenge unanswered.

In 1076 Henry sought to have Gregory deposed from the papacy as a criminal who had exceeded his powers. Gregory replied by excommunicating the emperor and releasing his subjects from obedience to him. Henry was deserted by the German princes and found himself isolated. He crossed the Alps in mid-winter, seeking forgiveness from the pope. He is said to have stood in the snow in the courtyard of Gregory's castle at Canossa in northern Italy for three January days and nights in 1077, before the pope absolved him from excommunication.

The Concordat of Worms

Canossa was not the end of the struggle. In 1080 Henry again defied Gregory and again declared him deposed. He invaded Italy and advanced on Rome, which he captured after a siege of three years. Gregory was forced to leave the city, never to return. He died soon afterwards, in 1085, and his last words were said to have been, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile.'

In the end, the investiture controversy was settled through a compromise. By the Concordat of Worms (1122) Henry IV's son, Henry V (1106-25), and Pope Calixtus II agreed that elections to German, Italian and Burgundian bishoprics should be free, but made in the emperor's presence and therefore under his influence. Although the emperor was now not to invest bishops with the ring and staff, symbolising their spiritual office, he was still to invest them with the sceptre, representing the temporal authority they exercised in his name. The conflict between popes and emperors was to continue, however, into the next century.

The origins of feudalism

Feudalism—Europe's bulwark against invasion; the power of the armed horseman; feudalism creates a rigid social order; the kings of France struggle against powerful vassals; Otto the Great founds the Holy Roman Empire.

The deposition of the last western emperor in Rome by a barbarian ruler in A.D. 476 brought to an end the political system of the later Roman Empire, but not its social structure, which continued, though disintegrating, largely unchanged for another two centuries. The barbarian kings of the sixth and seventh centuries, the Visigoths in Spain, and Ostrogoths in Italy, the Franks and the Germans, adopted Roman titles and methods of government. Although independent in practice, they considered themselves as still under the suzerainty of the emperor who now ruled in Constantinople, which Justinian in the sixth century had made into a truly metropolitan city.

The great change in the social order of western Europe took place more than a century after the death of Justinian, in the eighth and ninth centuries. It came about as the cumulative result of the successive waves of invasion by Vandals, Lombards, Magyars and other nomadic peoples, the raiding and settlement by the Vikings, and the conquests of the Muslims. These finally destroyed the old social fabric of the Roman world and led to the creation of new institutions in its place.

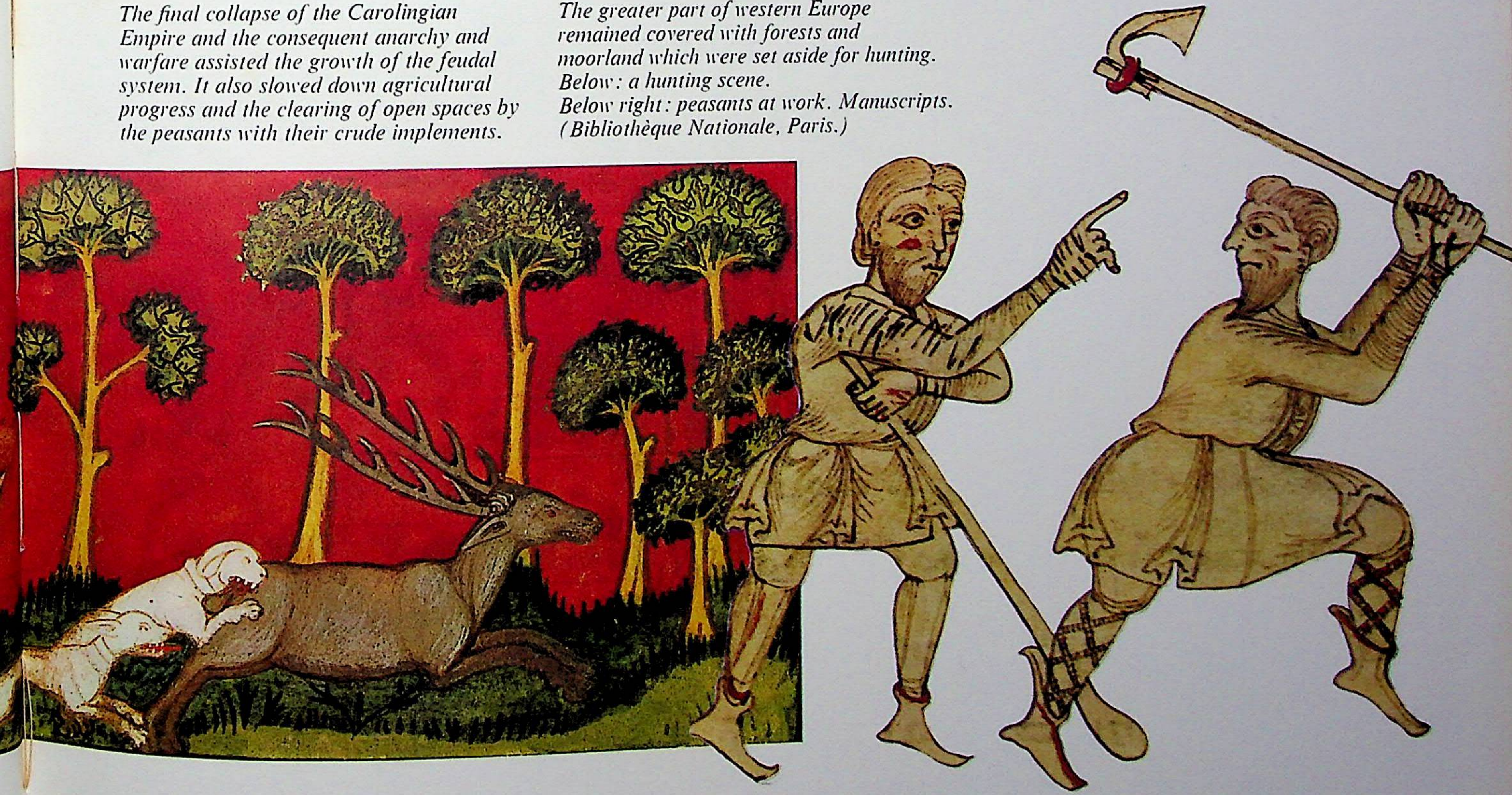
The decline of trade

In the ancient Roman world the main artery of trade had been the Mediterranean linking East and West. At first, when barbarian kingdoms replaced the Roman Empire, commodities from the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, such as gold, olive oil, silk and spices, continued to be used in western Europe, but gradually this trade declined until by the eighth and ninth centuries it had become only a fraction of what it had been earlier.

One reason for this was that in their

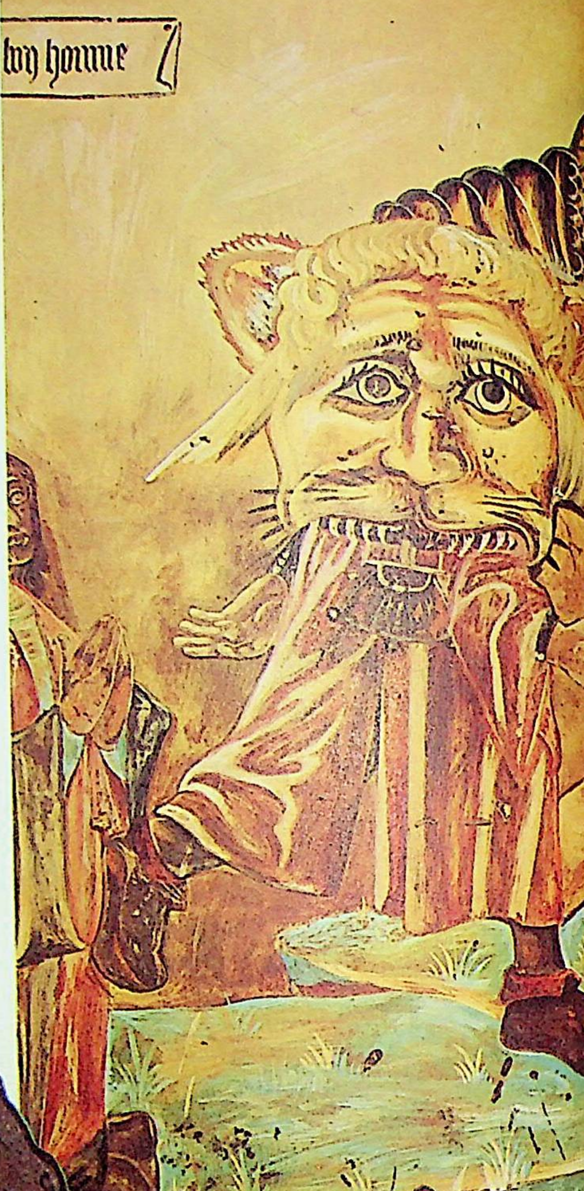
The final collapse of the Carolingian Empire and the consequent anarchy and warfare assisted the growth of the feudal system. It also slowed down agricultural progress and the clearing of open spaces by the peasants with their crude implements.

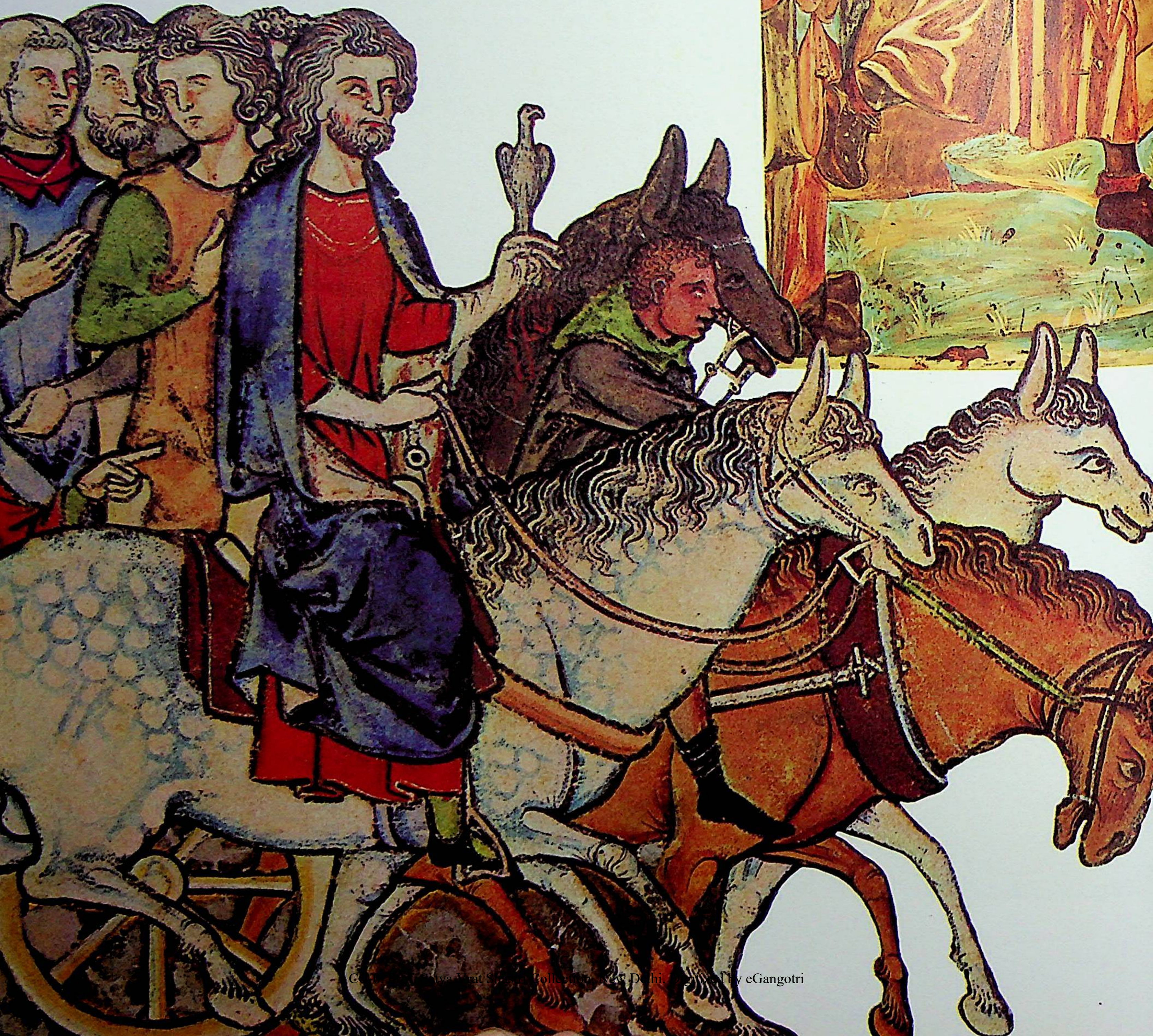
The greater part of western Europe remained covered with forests and moorland which were set aside for hunting.
Below: a hunting scene.
Below right: peasants at work. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

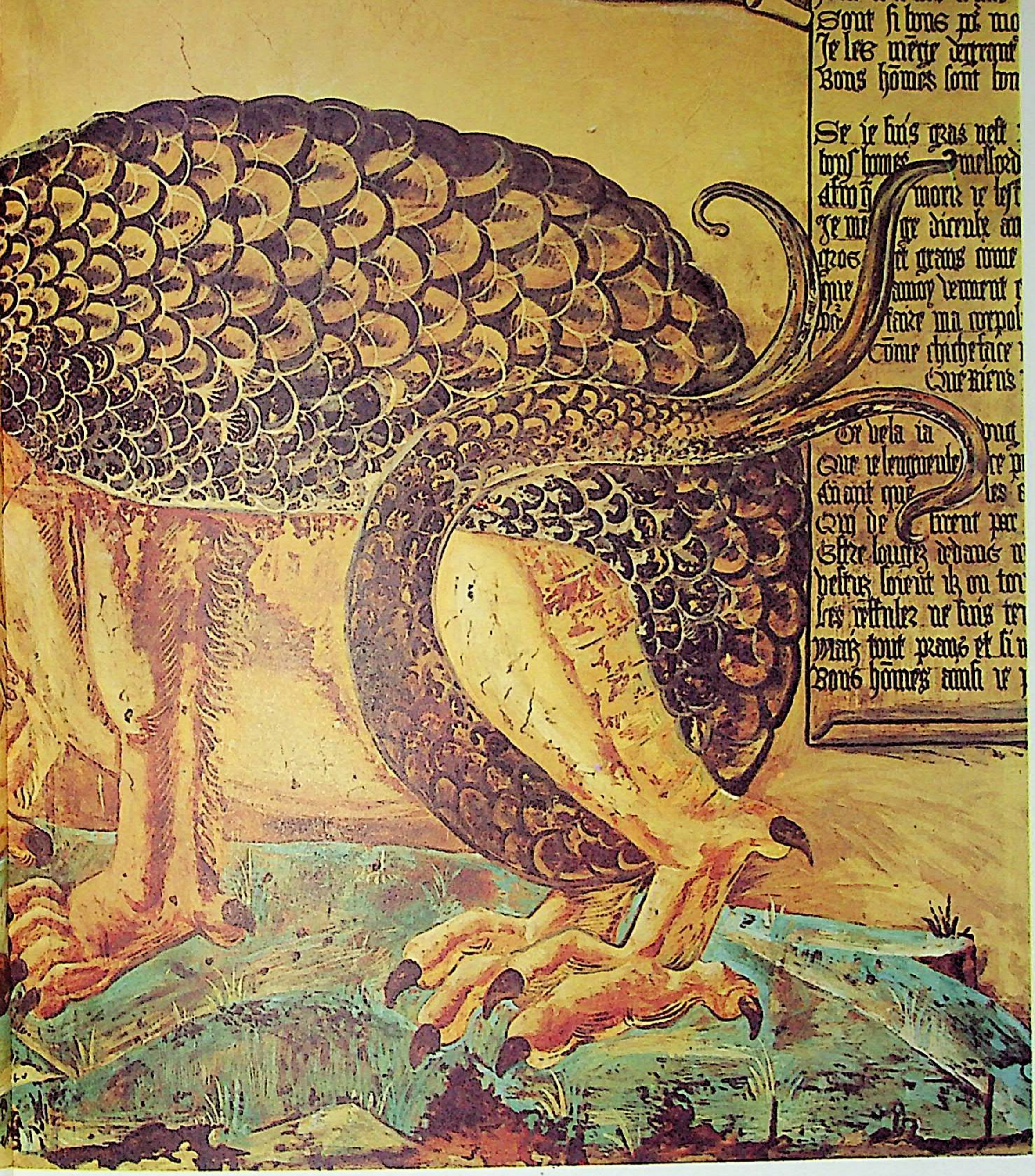


Right: many monsters, like this one associated with Tarascon in the south of France, were bequeathed by paganism to the middle ages. They added to the 'terrors of the year 1000', when it was believed that the world would come to an end; but man's confidence in the future was renewed as western Europe covered itself with 'a white mantle of churches'. Fifteenth-century fresco.

Below: such a lord as this, out hunting with his vassals, lay and ecclesiastical, was practically independent in his fief and became an essential figure in the social and political system, replacing Charlemagne's former officials who had to submit to central control. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)







ruined condition the barbarian kingdoms could no longer afford to pay for large amounts of imported goods from the East. Nor could they supply manufactures or luxuries to the Muslims, whose conquests in Central Asia and Africa had brought them vast new sources of silver and gold. The Muslims, however, did want raw materials, such as furs and timber, and, still more, slaves and eunuchs. Such trade as existed was in these, and the Vikings were pioneers in supplying the demands of the Muslims and engaging in commercial relations of this kind.

Another reason for the decline of commerce was the widespread insecurity of travel. The havoc wrought by invaders and the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire disrupted communications. The most important towns in northern Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries were Reims and Verdun which were far removed from the coasts and thus out of reach of the Vikings and other pirates. However, even inland the decline of governmental authority made trading dangerous and expensive. 'Everywhere the country is infested with brigandage', wrote the Frankish historian, Nithard, in 841.

In such circumstances, the outlets for trade were restricted. There were markets, but they were mostly for local trade. Long-distance commerce was crippled by the absence of political stability. Hence European society became increasingly based upon a rural self-sufficiency which later found its expression in the forms of feudalism.

The armed horseman

Feudalism was adopted by Europe as the form of social organisation which enabled it to check and ultimately to conquer its invaders. It was an elaboration of a system already attempted in Persia. When the barbarian nomads had burst upon their empire, the Romans were powerless against these mounted, mobile fighters. The legionaries, the heavily-armed infantry who for centuries had been the backbone of the Roman army, could not bring to battle invaders who fought on horseback with bow and arrow. The Persians alone had been able to withstand the mounted barbarians. Long before the establishment of the Roman Empire, they had bred strong horses, able to carry heavily-armed men, and with such an army they brought Persia to its highest point of power, holding their own from A.D. 250 to 650 against first the Roman and then the Byzantine Empire.

Eventually the Byzantine emperors themselves copied the Persians and established their own forces of armed horsemen. Nevertheless, in the middle of the seventh century both the Persian and the Byzantine Empires were overwhelmed by the Muslims. One reason for their collapse was the high cost of maintaining their cavalry. Peasants and townspeople were ruined by the expense of the privileged horsemen, who became isolated and went down before the Arab attack through lack of united, national support in their own countries.

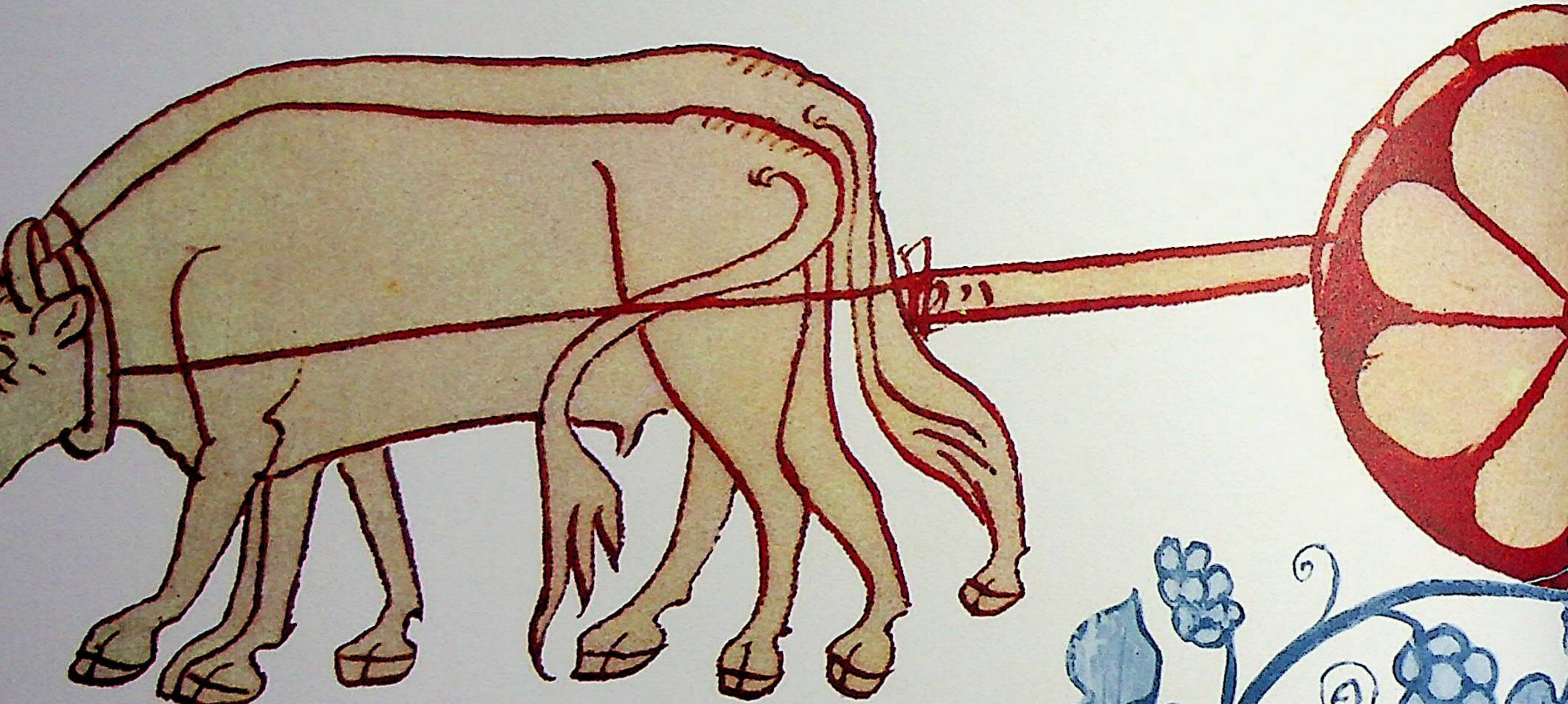
In the course of the struggle with Islam, the Byzantine emperors evolved a military system in which hereditary landowners maintained the vitally important mounted warriors, and a similar development took place in western Europe.

There the system was evolved as a result of the great battle at Poitiers in 732 between the Franks and Arabs. Although Frankish infantry defeated the Arab horsemen, Charles Martel was impressed by the mobility of his enemies and their use of an important new device, the stirrup, which enabled them to fight on horseback with sword or lance. He realised that, if the Muslim threat were to be checked permanently, it was essential that he should have such soldiers in his army. So he brought into being a class of armed horsemen or knights and for their maintenance granted them land taken from the Church.

Land and the knights

In this way Charles Martel and his sucessors laid the foundations of feudalism during the eighth and ninth centuries. It was based upon the old Frankish ways of local government, which Charlemagne continued. Gradually the dukes, margraves and counts were endowed with land, in return for which they had to take an oath that they would faithfully serve their royal overlord and aid him with arms when required.

By the twelfth century this arrangement had spread to other parts of western Europe and had become formalised and fully developed. The estates granted to the nobility had become heritable. The service they performed in return for these estates had been made more precise: the duty of knight-service. Each estate was valued at so many knights' fees, which represented the service due from the tenant-in-chief who held land directly from the king. For each knight's fee he had to bring to the royal army, when summoned, a fully-armed knight and maintain him there for a period usually limited by custom to forty or sixty days. He had other obligations, such as the payment of aids or



fines to the king, but knight-service was the fundamental basis on which he held his lands. It expressed the essential military purpose of feudalism.

The feudal pyramid

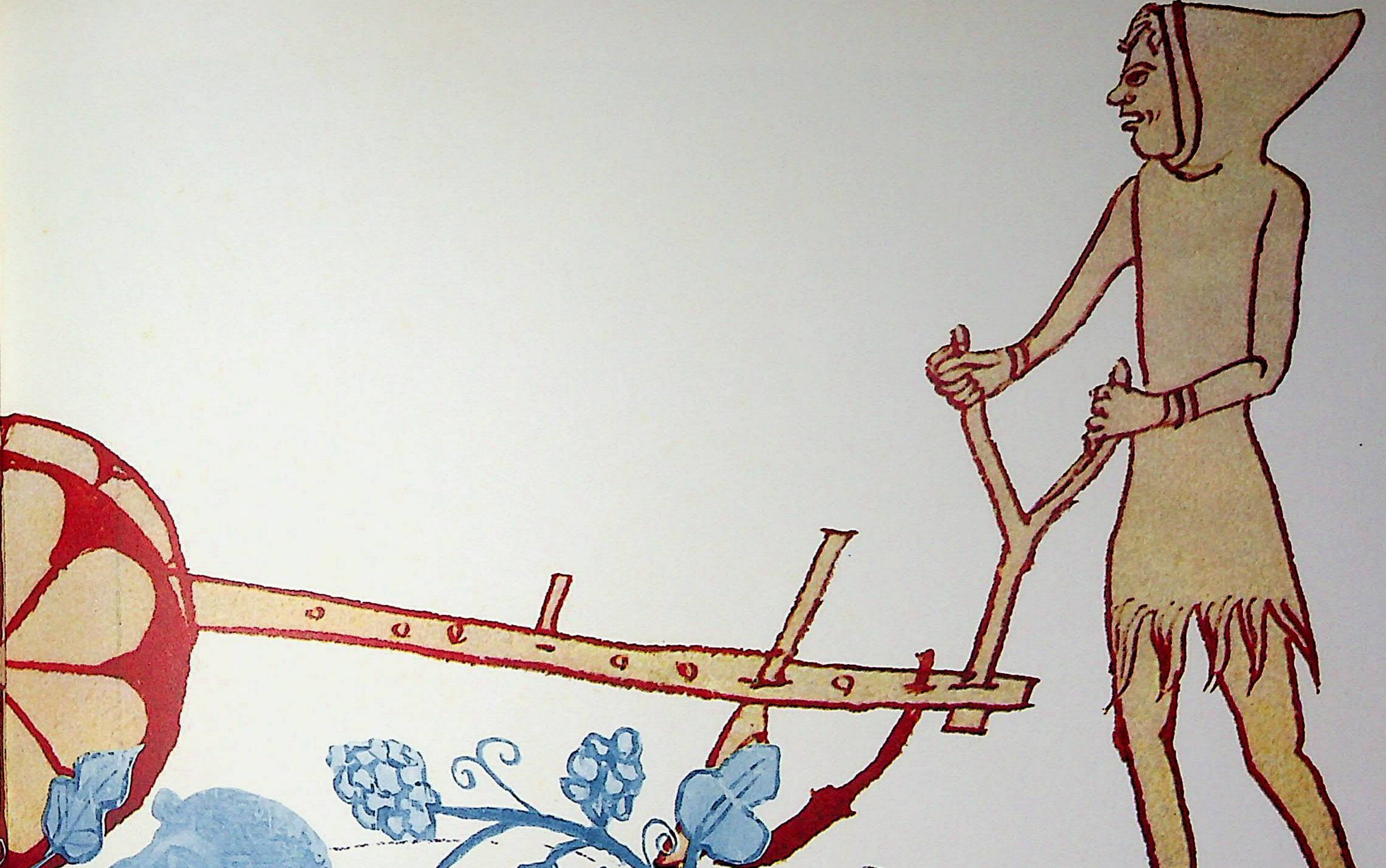
It was not easy for a tenant-in-chief to fulfil his knight-service. He was responsible for the steeds, equipment, training and permanent maintenance of the knights. This was expensive, and no medieval king or nobleman had enough money to pay them wages or allowances. Sometimes he might keep them in his own household, giving them food and board, clothing and equipment, but it was more common for him to allocate parts of his land as hereditary holdings to tenants of his own.

These tenants owed the same duty to their feudal lord as he did to the king. In particular, each had to be ready to serve as a knight under him or to provide so many knights to do so. Tenants in turn had their own sub-tenants who owed feudal obligations to them. These sub-tenants might again divide their holdings, and the process continue until some holdings were only the size of a single knight's fee. In this way a pyramid of feudal tenants was evolved with its apex in the king. The practice, however, presented a danger to the king and his tenants-in-chief, in that the allegiance of the sub-tenants was to their own immediate lord and not to his superior.

Lords and their manors

Around the military arrangements of feudalism there grew up a whole system of government and social order. The nobility, the king's tenants-in-chief, were often rich and powerful men possessing castles and vast estates, privileges and hunting rights. The king depended upon them, not only to protect him from his enemies, but also to assist him in matters of policy and administration.

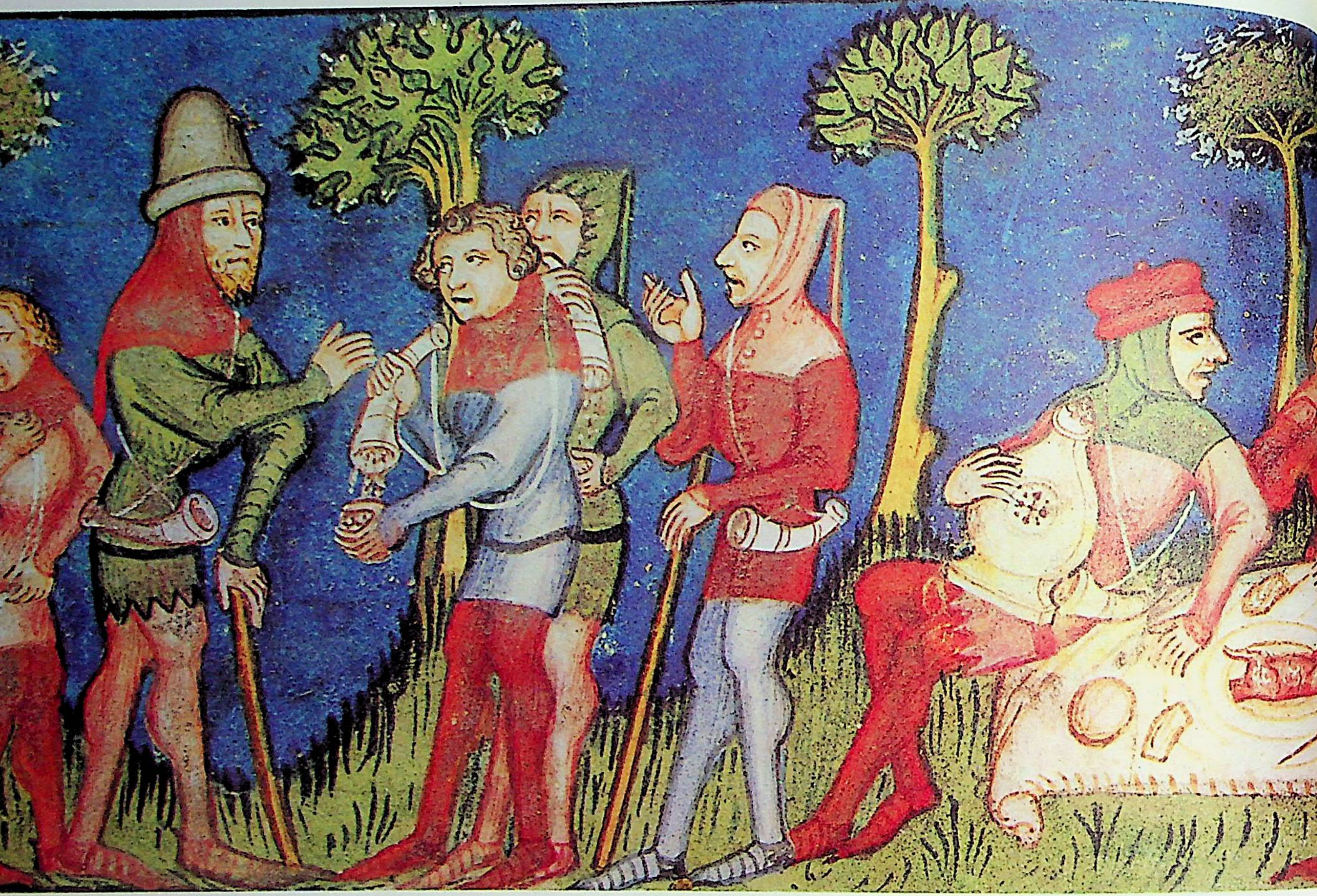
The nobility formed the king's council and had the right and duty to advise him on



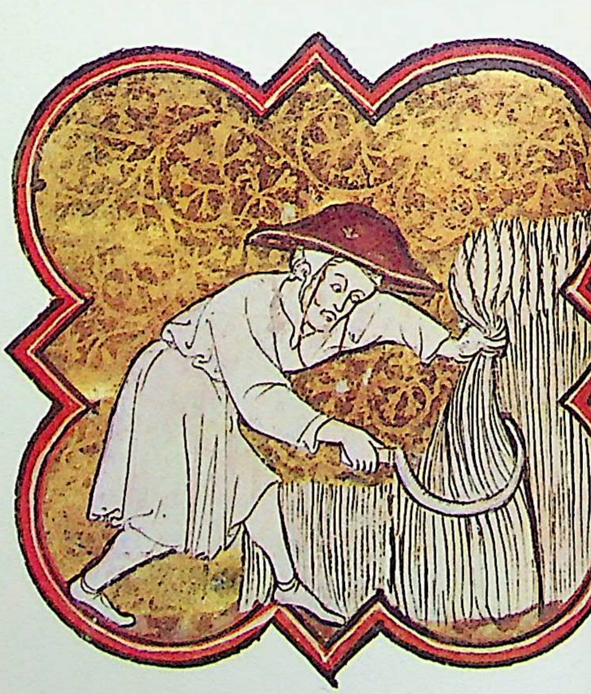
all important questions. Feudal theory regarded the king as the fountain of Justice, and he made them form his court to judge cases between them and to demand their services. The enforcement of feudal obligations often depended, however, upon the character of the king. If he were weak, the nobility might assert themselves and compel him to grant them rights and privileges harmful to himself.

Above: in the eleventh century a new plough was developed. It had a ploughshare with a horizontal cutting-edge, commonly of wood hardened in fire and sometimes tipped with iron. It could turn the soil as well as loosen it. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Left: French wine was the best in Europe, and much was imported into England.



Above: the medieval forest was a world inhabited by huntsmen, hermits, wandering knights and brigands. It inspired such stories as those of Robin Hood and his outlaws in England and of St Hubert, the Flemish huntsman who became a hermit. The vast Forest of Brocéliande in Brittany sheltered Merlin, the prince of sorcerers. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



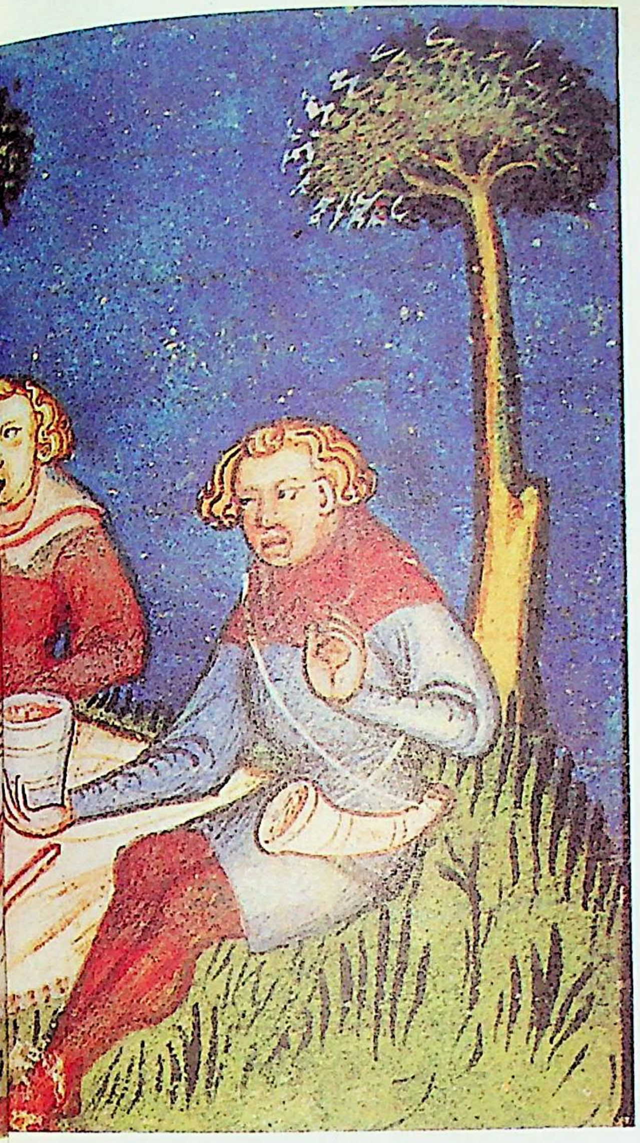
The tenants-in-chief themselves possessed many rights of jurisdiction and government over their vassals. Thus, on the continent noblemen of the highest rank judged the more serious crimes, involving the death penalty, on their estates, while even the lesser lords held jurisdiction over minor crimes.

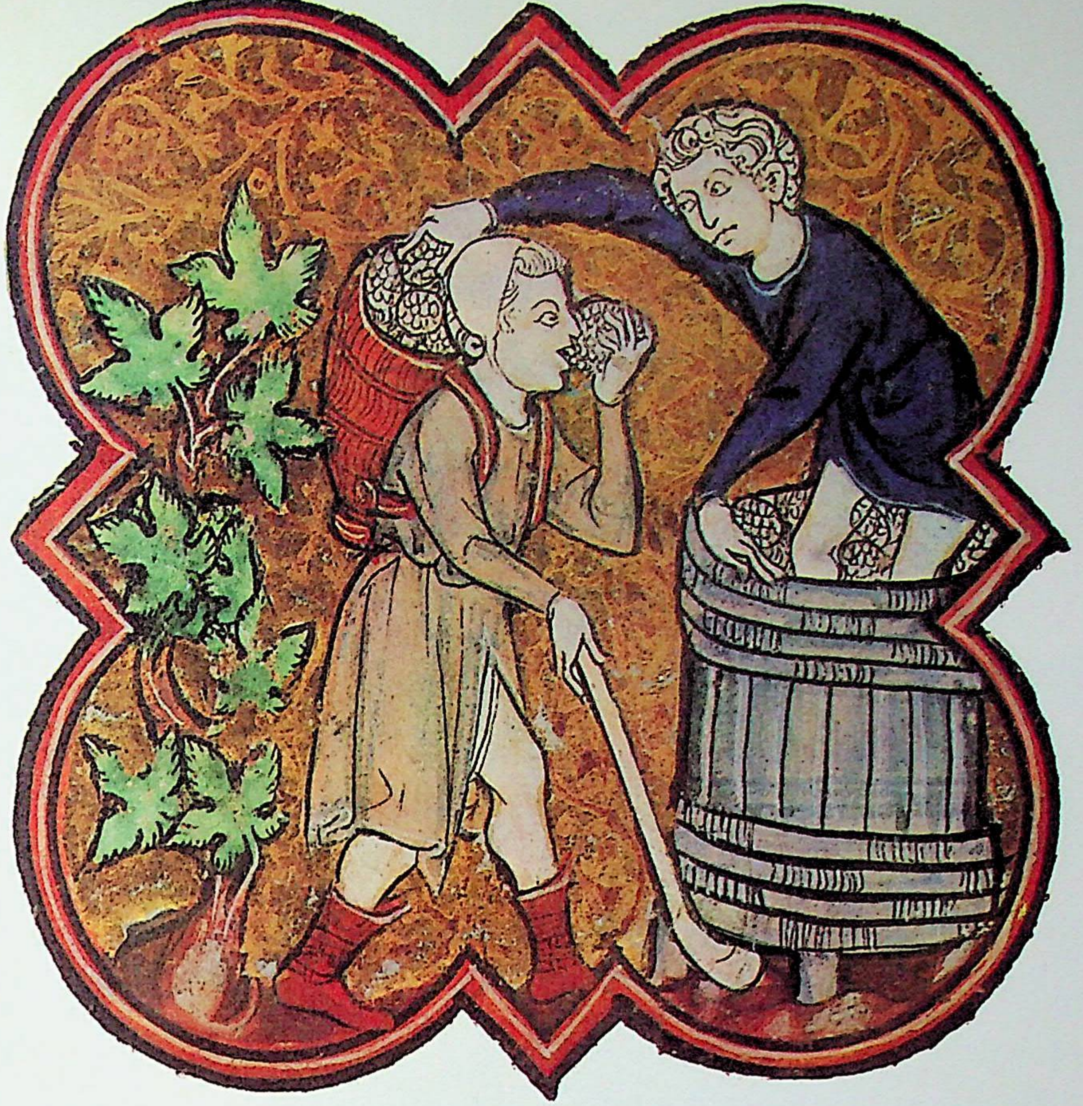
The economic basis of feudalism was the manor which in its simplest form consisted of one village with one lord, though a lord often possessed a number of manors. Part of the manorial estate was reserved for the lord and a small part of the rest was farmed by freeholders paying him rent while the remainder was farmed by serfs, who formed most of the villagers. In return for their land, the serfs had to work two or three days weekly on the lord's land with extra days at seed-time and harvest, besides providing him with fowls, eggs, pigs and other produce.

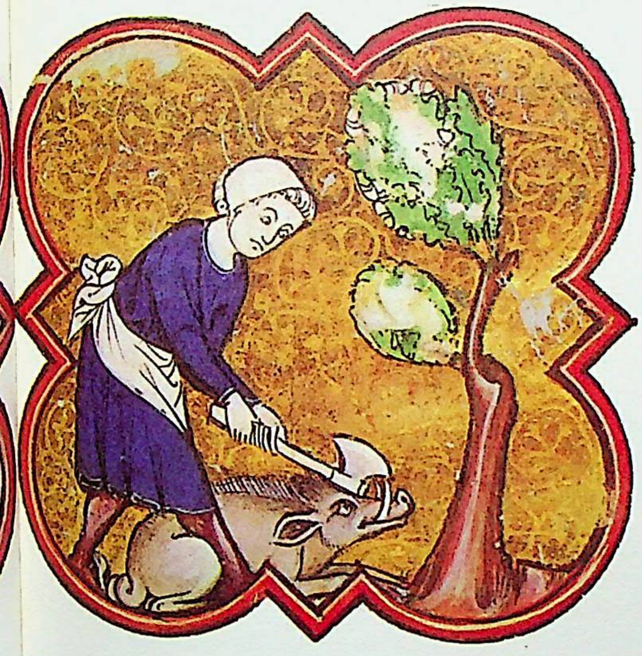
In most manors the arable land was divided into three large fields, each divided into long narrow strips. The lord had about a third of these strips, the rest being held by the freeholders and serfs. Each man's strips were divided among the three fields and also scattered about different parts of each field to ensure that he had a share of good and bad land alike. One of these fields was sown with winter wheat; a second with spring wheat, rye or barley; and the third left unsown and fallow. Each year a different field lay fallow so that there was some rotation of crops, and the soil was not exhausted rapidly. In addition, hay was grown on the meadowland, and cattle grazed on the waste land.

Such a system could support no more than subsistence farming. The manor normally produced little more food than was needed to support the village and the lord and his retainers; this rural economy would not have been able to sustain an effective feudalism without the marked increase in population which occurred in Europe during the eleventh century.

The increase was made possible by a







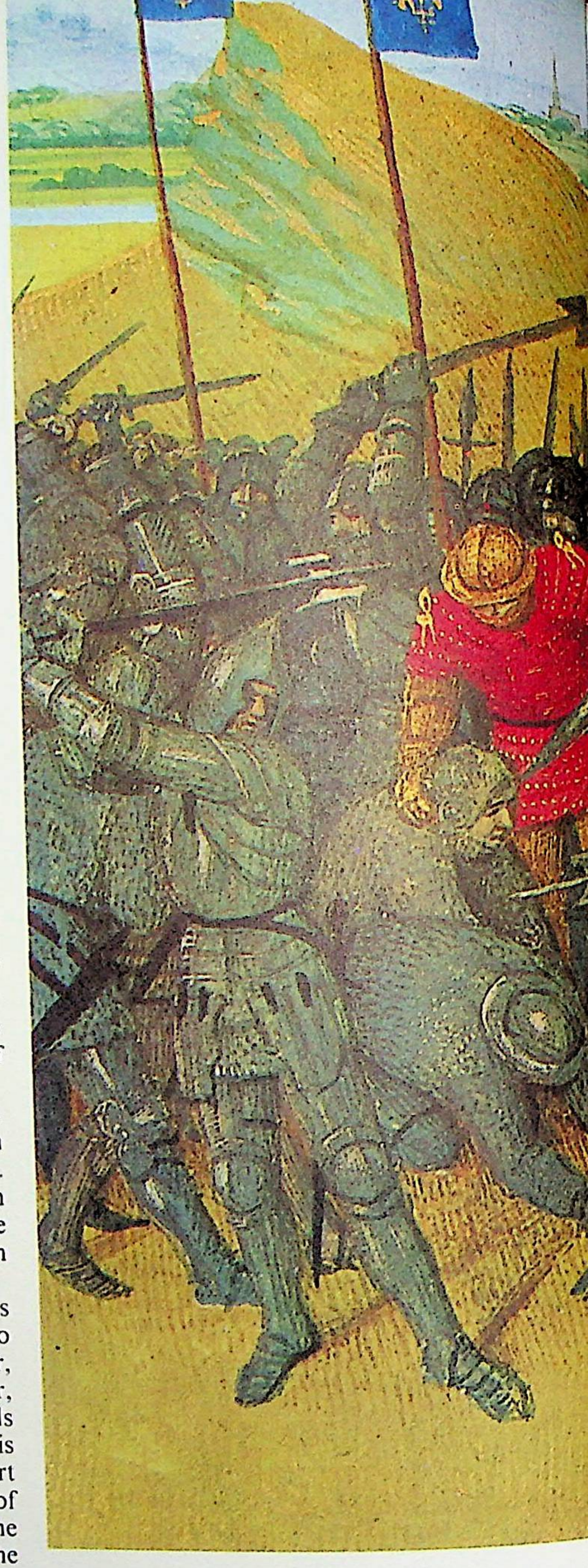
Scenes of country life: (above) the vine-grower crushes with his feet in a barrel the bunches of grapes which are brought to him in baskets; (below, opposite) the corn is cut with a sickle halfway down the stem to preserve the stubble; and (left) a peasant fells with the blow of an axe a wild boar attracted by fallen acorns. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

number of developments which improved the productivity of the land. Among these were the replacement of oxen by horses for traction and the adoption of the three-field system of crop rotation, but perhaps the most important was the development of a new type of plough.

The original 'scratch-plough', consisted of a downward-pointing spike drawn by two oxen, first in one direction, then crosswise, over a square plot of land. This was gradually replaced by a heavier plough, which was much more effective and could be used even on heavy, damp soil. It had a coulter and ploughshare set to cut deep into the earth and a mould-board to turn the soil sideways and form a ridge and furrow so as to drain as well as turn the ground. Also, it was often set on wheels and drawn by a team of oxen and therefore ploughed a long strip rather than a square plot.

These innovations not only improved the productivity of the land, but also demanded closely integrated social units in the countryside, since the team of oxen to draw the plough required communal ownership and the three-field system communal labour. So these developments themselves contributed to the growth of the manorial system.

However, the condition of the serfs remained unchanged by these developments. Since the average manor had from 900 to 3,000 acres to be farmed by perhaps two dozen families, their toil was incessant. The hardest work was at harvest-time when the grapes were crushed in France and Germany and the corn was cut in England. They had to suffer dangers and trials. The huntsmen ruined their poor crops, wild beasts killed their animals and even attacked their houses. Moreover, serfs were 'bound to the soil', which meant that they could not leave the manor without their lord's permission. Some, however, took to the forests which surrounded the villages and joined the bands of brigands and outlaws hiding there.



he end of the Carolingians France

mong all the countries of western Europe, e growth of feudalism was most rapid and mplete in the kingdom of the West Franks France, which developed from the rritory given by the Treaty of Verdun to harles the Bald in 843. Her geographical osition as the only country lying open to ne Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the North Sea made her the centre of medieval ulture and the typical medieval country. Here perfect feudalism was found. But its development was assisted also by the decadence of the French monarchy.

Charlemagne's successors in France proved to be very much like the puppet kings of the Merovingians. Because they were such weak rulers, power was seized by the Dukes of Paris, Aquitaine, Brittany and other leading noblemen. France suffered particularly severely from the attacks of the Vikings, and several generations of foreign invasion, internal conflict and the acquisition of the royal domain by the great vassals eventually dismembered the kingdom and deprived the monarchy of the material basis for its power. After the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887, the Carolingian kings reigned for a further century, but they were quite powerless to legislate. The line came to an end in 987 with the death of Louis V.

The coming of the Capetians

By now successive dukes of Paris had made their family the most powerful in France. They had, indeed, become to the later Carolingian kings what the mayors of the palace were to the Merovingians. When Louis V died, Duke Hugh Capet was able, largely through the support of Adalbero, Archbishop of Reims, and Gerbert, the future Pope Sylvester II, to secure election as king of France.

His accession to the throne brought to an end the last confused and troubled years of the enfeebled line of Pepin. His strength lay in the support of the Church and the possession of a royal domain grouped around the strong cities of Paris, Orleans and Laon, containing good fertile land and situated right in the centre of France through which ran important roads and trade routes. Moreover, a few months after his own accession Hugh was able to obtain the election of his son, Robert, as joint-king, which helped to establish the principle of hereditary succession to the throne. The Capetian dynasty was to continue to rule in France by direct descent until 1328.

Two struggling kings

Nevertheless, the position of the first Capetian monarchs in their kingdom was very weak. The change of dynasty did not bring about any change in the relationship between the crown and the French nobility. France was hardly yet a nation. The country was in reality divided into a number of states, each of which was held by a feudal lord.

The king of France was nominally the overlord of all these dukedoms and counties, but many of the most powerful dukes and counts were independent, disobedient and even hostile. They only paid homage to the king when it suited them to do so.

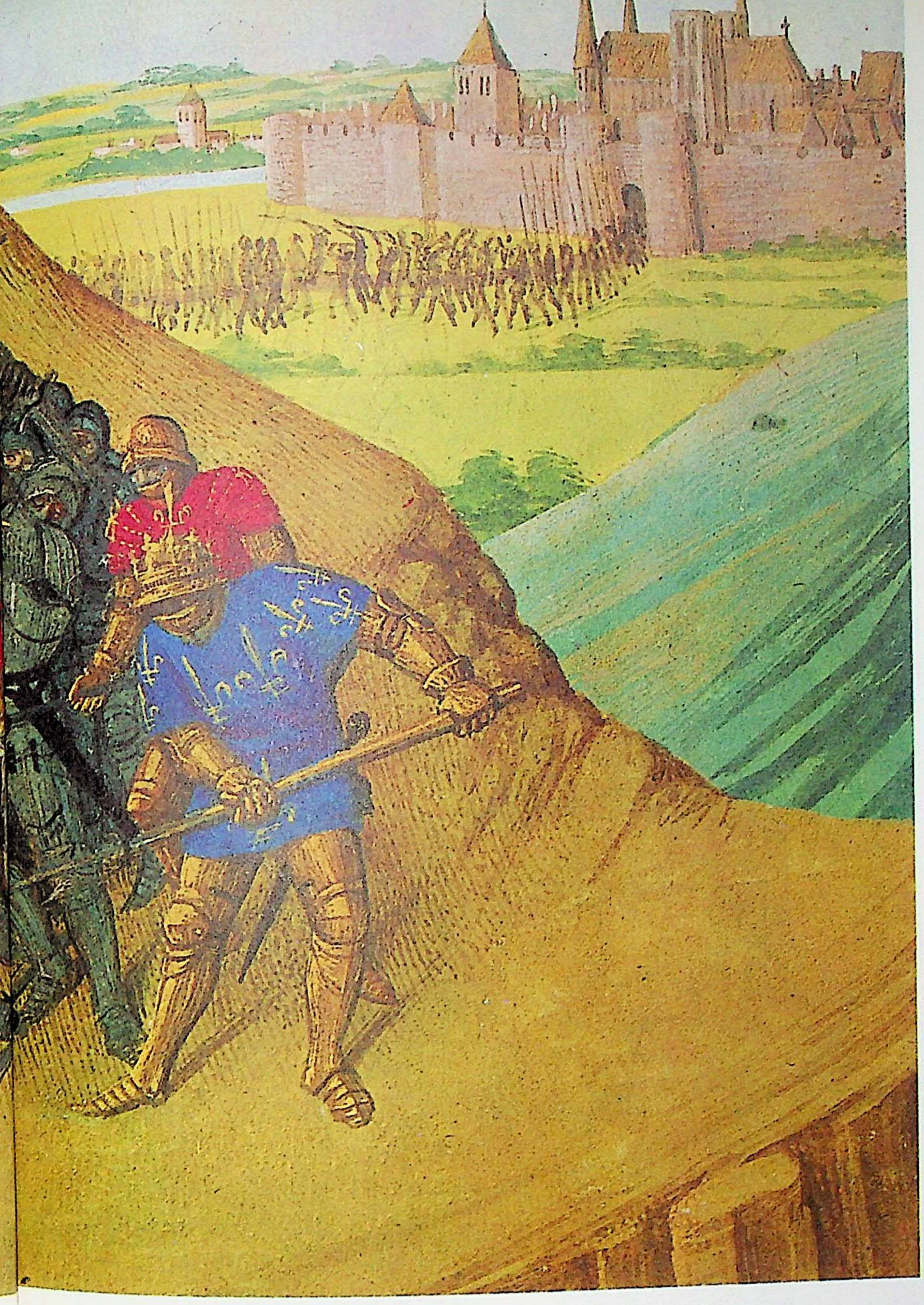
The Capetians were not as rich and powerful as the dukes of Normandy and of Burgundy, the counts of Flanders and of Champagne and others among their leading vassals, who had more land and retainers than the crown itself. The kings did not attempt to govern the kingdom outside the royal domain, which was at first confined to a narrow strip of territory stretching approximately from Compiègne to Orleans and including Paris; it was surrounded by the territory of their formidable neighbours. It generally happened that the crown had the support of the Church, but not very much beyond this.

When Hugh Capet died in 996, his son, King Robert II the Pious, succeeded him on the throne without difficulty. He had married Bertha, the widow of the Count of Blois, but they were sufficiently closely related for the papacy to declare the marriage void. Constance, the daughter of the count of Toulouse, was his next wife.

Such was the weakness of his position that he could not compel ready obedience even from the lesser nobility in his own domain. Yet he did succeed in regaining possession of several towns, and on his uncle's death he occupied Burgundy, though it cost him ten years of war to hold the province.

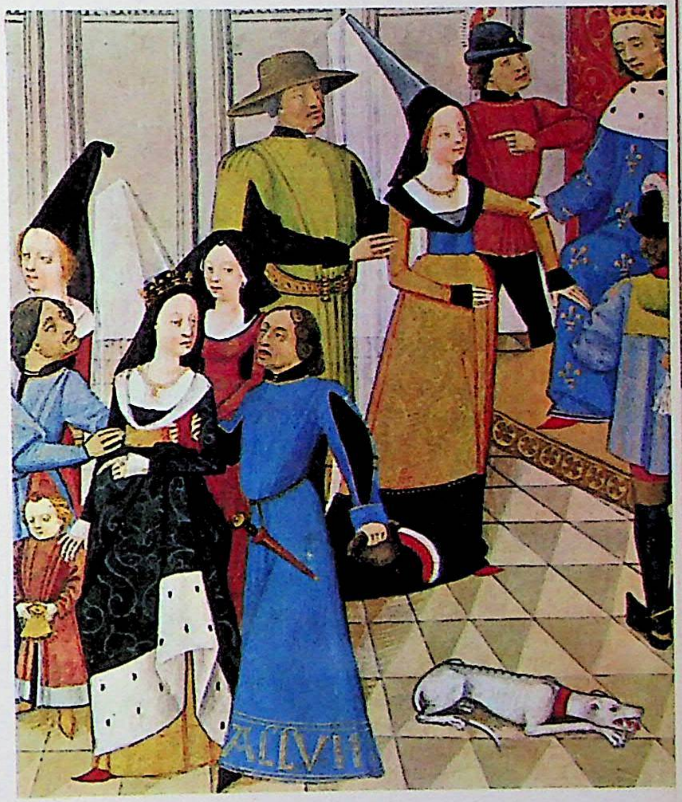
Robert's son and successor, who was crowned Henry I in 1031, had first of all to undertake a family war against his mother, Constance, who put his young brother, Robert, on the throne. The great vassals were very ready to participate in this quarrel. The Count of Blois gave his support to Robert while his rivals, the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Anjou and the Count of Flanders, remained faithful to the king. Henry vanquished his brother, pardoned him and granted him the duchy of Burgundy, for which his father had fought so long. The war continued, however, until 1044, first against Eudes de Blois and then against his son.

The result of the contest was to weaken the French monarchy still further. Henry could not prevent the growth of Champagne, and in order to reward the Duke of Normandy, Robert the Devil, for his help in the war against the Count of Blois, he ceded him the French Vexin. When Robert the Devil was succeeded by the young Duke William the Bastard, Henry maintained the alliance with the future conqueror of England. It was Henry's help which enabled William in 1047 to inflict a decisive defeat at Val-ès-dunes, near Caen, upon his rebellious Norman vassals, and for a time the two men united against the ambitions of the Count of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel. Nonetheless, the military power and aggressive aims of Duke William alarmed his overlord and made him change his alliance. He now allied himself with Geoffrey against William, but two campaigns brought him humiliating defeats on Norman soil, and the war was still in progress when he died in 1060.



Left: a scene depicting a battle between Henry I of France and the count of Blois. During Philip I's reign (1060–1108) the power of the French monarch was maintained, but he could not prevent the establishment of the Anglo-Norman state.

Below: a court scene during the reign of Philip I. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



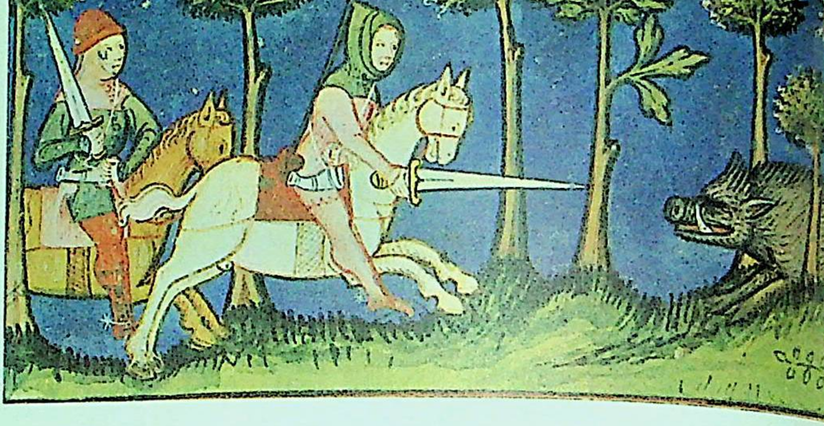
Philip's activity and inertia

Philip was only eight when he succeeded his father, who had taken the precaution of crowning him the year before and arranging for his brother-in-law, Baldwin V, Count of Flanders, to act as his guardian and rule as regent.

The most important event of Philip's minority and one in which he took no part was the Norman conquest of England. By then the duke of Normandy became king of England also, and his allegiance to the King of France became still more a mere formality. The duke of Normandy was now, indeed, the equal of the king of France. The rivalry of the two kingdoms would henceforward determine, not only the policy of the Capetian monarchy, but also its relations with the feudal system according to whether the great vassals decided to remain neutral or committed themselves to one side.

When he came of age, therefore, Philip did not enter into a very powerful inheritance. He had, however, a shrewd and practical outlook on the situation. In this age of feudalism, political power depended upon the enforcement of the vassal's allegiance to his lord, and he saw that the power of the French monarchy must be based upon the royal domain. Here he could make his power real and secure obedience from his vassals. Not until he had

Right: hunting the dangerous animals of the forest—boars, wolves and bears—was often hazardous. During the hard winter packs of hungry wolves attacked villages, and every Sunday hunting parties were organised to slaughter them. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

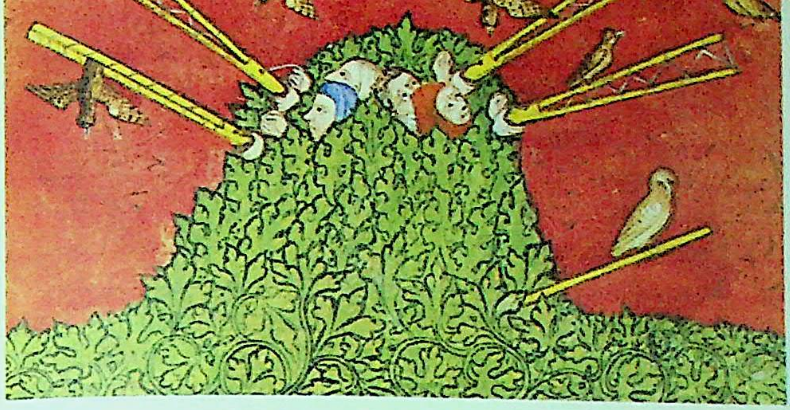


Otto the Great

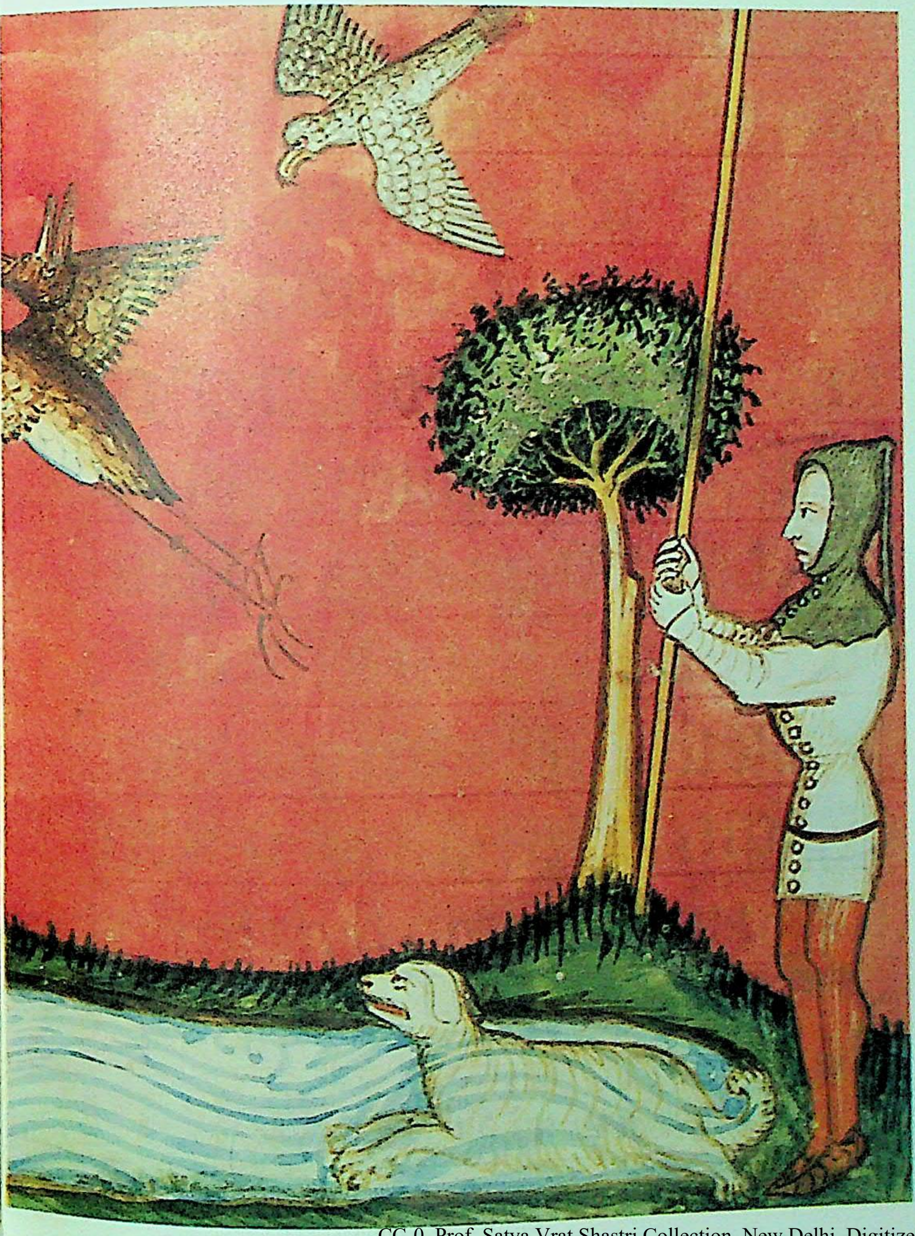
So great was the power and prestige gained by Henry I that after his death in 936 the election of his eldest son, Otto I, later to be known as 'the Great', to succeed him on the throne was undisputed. After he had been elected by the German nobility, Otto was anointed, crowned and enthroned by the Archbishop of Mainz in Charlemagne's palace church at Aachen. The ceremony expressed the new monarch's conception of himself as the successor of Charlemagne and as the supreme authority in Germany, recognised and sustained in his position by the Church.

Otto was then only twenty-four years old, but he soon was seen to be capable of sustaining the task he had imposed upon himself by his ambitions. He was a large, red-haired man, who was a brave though impetuous soldier, a religious man but no scholar. He had inherited his father's determination and practical good sense which he combined with a steadfast persistence that enabled him to surmount the manifold difficulties of his reign. He was confident and attracted men to him, though out of fear rather than affection or admiration. He was ruthless towards his enemies, but ready to forgive and spare them when he thought fit. Throughout his life he remained faithful to his resolve to establish his authority in Germany and to bring peace and order to the country.

As soon as he was crowned, Otto set out to assert his supremacy in Germany. His attempt aroused the dukes to rebellion, and from 938 to 941 he was engaged in their subjection, which he secured as a result of his own energy and determination as well as a lack of unity among his opponents. He was able virtually to abolish Franconia in 939 and make it permanently part of the



Left: men hidden in a bush attempt to ensnare wild birds.
Below: hunting wild birds with falcons was reserved for kings and great noblemen. The first non-Frankish king of Germany, Henry, duke of Saxony (919-936), was nicknamed 'the Fowler' because he was out fowling when the envoys brought him the regalia of the East Frankish kingdom. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



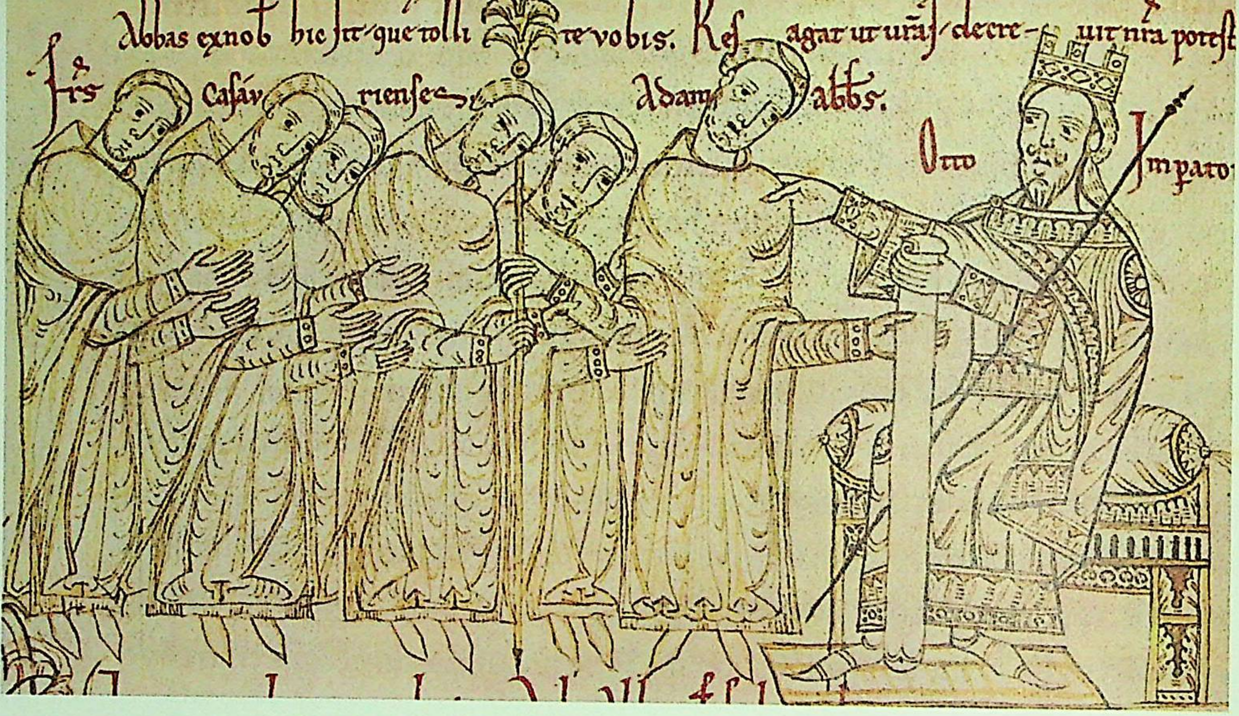
royal domain, but the other dukedoms were too strong, and their continued existence was necessary for the defence of the frontiers of the kingdom. He contented himself, therefore, with replacing their existing dukes with men of his own family. By 947 he had given Bavaria to his brother, Swabia to his son and Lotharingia to his son-in-law, while the archbishoprics of Mainz and Cologne were in the hands of his nominees.

Even these members of his own family, however, were prepared to rebel against Otto. In 953 there was a widespread rising against him in Germany which was fomented by his own son, the Duke of Swabia, who was joined by the Duke of Lotharingia and the greater part of the leading noblemen of Bavaria. The rebellious dukes, however, were foolish enough to assist the Magyars when they made a fresh invasion of Germany in 954. The insurgents were deserted by their indignant supporters. Otto was able to subdue them. He deprived them of their dukedoms, but spared their lives.

German power and expansion

In 954 the Magyars had crossed the Rhine and raided Metz, Cambrai, Reims and Châlons. In the spring of the next year they swarmed into Bavaria and besieged Augsburg. The five German duchies rallied to Otto's support against them, and he mustered a strong force on the River Lech. There was a desperate struggle, and among those who died in battle was the recently-deposed duke of Lotharingia, who had fought against Otto only the previous year. The Magyars were finally defeated and pursued beyond Vienna.

This victory at Lechfeld brought the Hungarian raids to a complete end. It gained Otto the title of 'the Great' and fame throughout Christendom.


Abbas ex nob hic sit que tolli te vobis. Res agat ut uras decre- uit nra potest
Frs Casav riense
Adam abbs.
Otto Imparo

The defeat of the Magyars displayed not only the military success of Otto, but also the power and expansion which the German realm achieved under him. Two months after his triumph at Lechfeld, he won another important victory on the Rechnitz over the Wends (or Slavs), who lived to the north and east of the Elbe, and against whom he had, throughout the internal troubles of his reign, been waging continuous warfare.

To consolidate his conquered territory, Otto relied not only on fortresses, garrisons and colonists, but also on the power of Christianity. Between the years 946 and 948 he erected the missionary bishoprics of Aarhus, Schleswig, Riba, Havelberg, Brandenburg and Oldenburg and richly endowed them all. Further south, he compelled the Duke of Bohemia to submit to him, but made no attempt to impose direct German rule on his territory.

The Holy Roman Empire

Because, in circumstances that have already been described, Otto enlarged his dominions to include Italy and was crowned by the pope in Rome in 962, Otto I is usually regarded as the founder of the Holy Roman Empire. To Otto and his contemporaries, his achievements in Italy represented a restoration of the empire of Charlemagne, and this was in itself a deliberate effort to renew the western half of the old Roman Empire. He had sought to fulfil the dream of a Christendom united under a single ruler, which was to haunt the medieval mind. But it was an ideal which was not only incapable of achievement, but also undermined all efforts to establish centralised rule over the German lands.

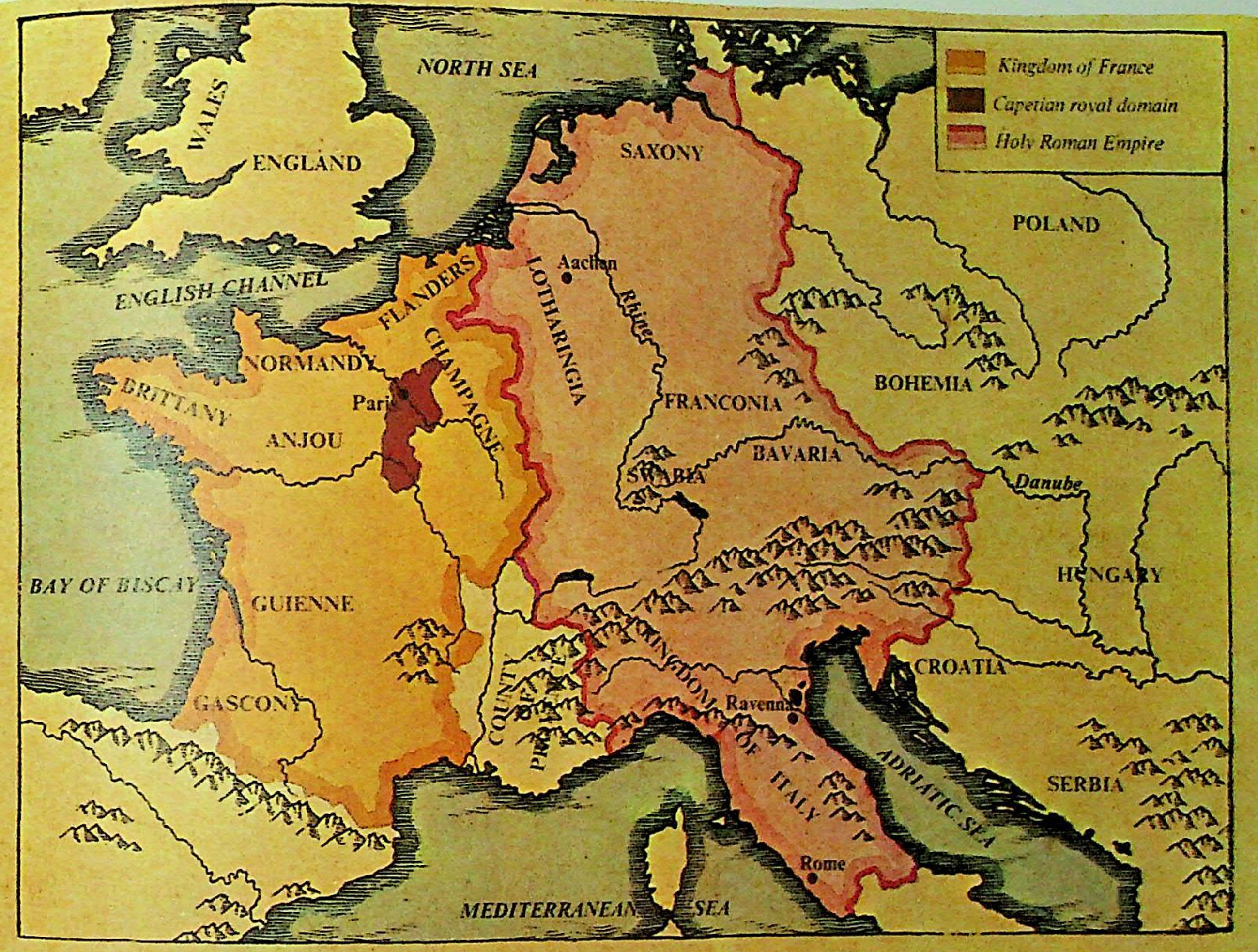
During Otto I's reign, however, that still lay in the future as did also the conflict between emperor and pope which was to do much to perpetuate both German and Italian disunity. Otto had saved Germany from foreign conquest, compelled its dukes to recognise him as their feudal overlord and re-established the empire in the West.

All this had been achieved in co-operation with the Church. He had been able to insist that the appointment to bishoprics within Germany must be in his hands, and he had secured virtual control of the appointment of popes and compelled them to take an oath of loyalty to him. The emperor was in a stronger position in his relations with the pope than Charlemagne had been.

That this should happen in such an important part of western Europe as Germany was bound to be of consequence for the rest of the Continent. Otto's policy and achievements contributed much, indeed, to the great European revival already beginning at this time.

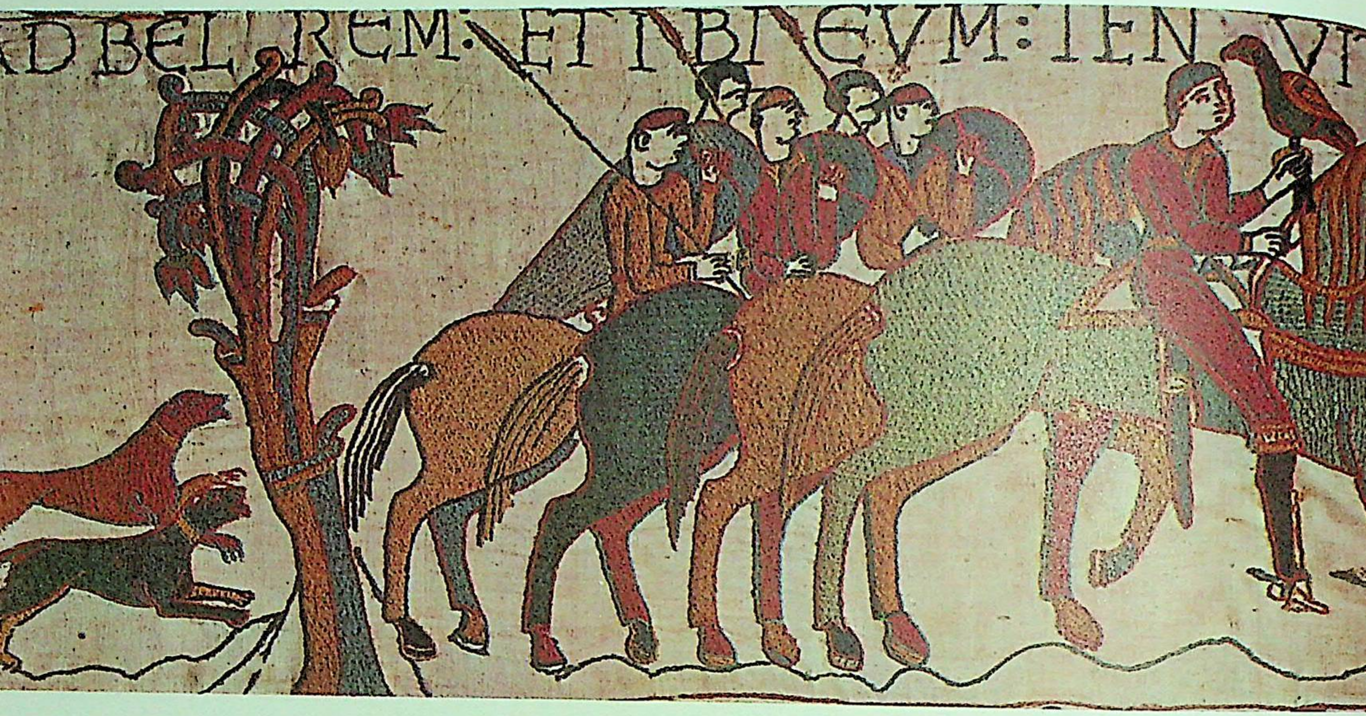
Above: Otto the Great granting a charter to monks. In accordance with Carolingian tradition, Otto followed a policy of strengthening the alliance with the Church by multiplying gifts of land and privileges to abbeys and monasteries. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Right: a map of western and central Europe about the year A.D. 1000. *During the tenth century the German monarchy had strengthened its position considerably, notably under Otto the Great. His conquest of northern Italy had converted the German kingdom into an empire. In France the monarchy was still weak and the first Capetian kings had to struggle against powerful, turbulent nobles, whose lands were virtually independent states.*


Kingdom of France
Capetian royal domain
Holy Roman Empire
NORTH SEA
WALES
ENGLAND
SAXONY
POLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FLANDERS
Aachen
Rhine
LOTHARINGIA
CHAMPAGNE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
Paris
ANJOU
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
SWABIA
Danube
BAY OF BISCAY
GUIENNE
HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF ITALY
COUNTY OF PROVENCE
CROATIA
GASCONY
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
SERBIA
Rome
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Norman England and Capetian France

England's struggle with the Danes; Canute establishes Danish supremacy; William the Conqueror invades; the troubled times of William's successors; Thomas Becket is murdered; the achievements of Philip Augustus; the bloody suppression of the Albigensian heresy; Louis XI and the growing power of France.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After the Battle of Hastings in 1066, William, Duke of Normandy and a vassal of the French crown, became king of England. The Norman conquest brought about important changes. Previously England had looked towards Scandinavia; now she was turned towards France. Within a hundred years Henry II had accumulated for England the immense Angevin Empire which spread across France from the Channel to northern Spain and from the Atlantic to the Massif Central. The fortunes of the two countries were now inevitably tied together. Norman noblemen had estates in both England and France, but the French could not forget their lost provinces.

Anglo-Saxon England

Despite the protection of the sea, Roman Britain had been no more secure than Gaul from the invasions of the Germanic peoples. The Angles (who were to give their name to the conquered island), Saxons and Jutes dispossessed the Celts in the fifth century and divided the country into their petty kingdoms. By the eighth century three of these kingdoms had become important—Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex; and during the reign of its king, Egbert (802–39), Wessex subjugated the rest, and from his dynasty came the outstanding monarch, Alfred the Great (879–900).

Christianity in England

Meanwhile, the heathen Anglo-Saxons had become Christians. Originally the south of England had been converted by the Roman mission led by St Augustine, who came to Kent in 597, and the north and midlands by Celtic missionaries from Scotland, who were themselves the descendants of the first Christians in Britain during the time of the Roman occupation.

This meant that at first England was divided in her religious loyalties, but in 664 the Celtic Christians agreed at the Synod of Whitby to accept papal authority, and religious unity was established throughout the country. This meant that Britain, for the first time since the Anglo-Saxon invasions, became part of Christendom. Now she could share in the culture of the civilised world which the Roman Church preserved.

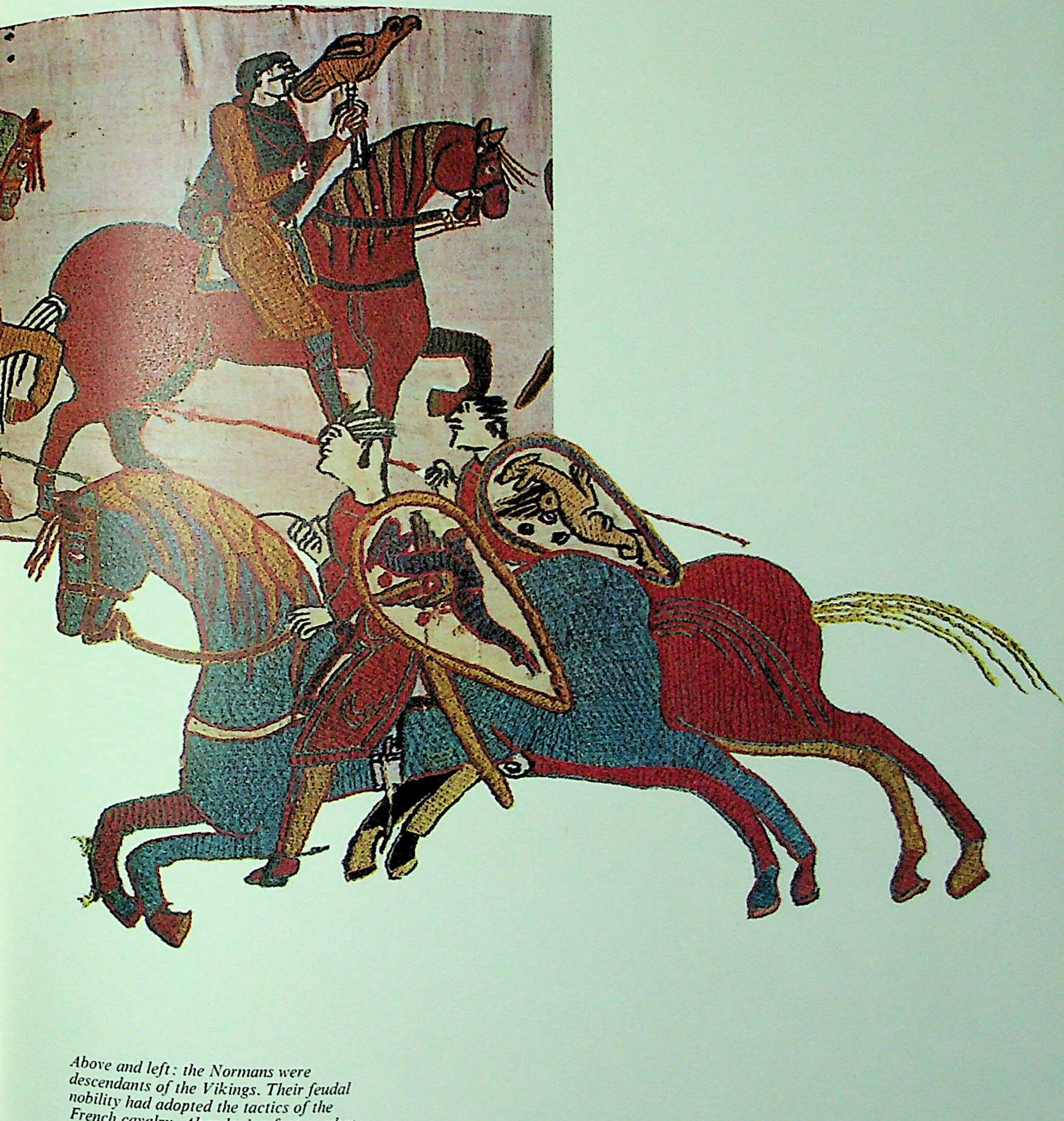
The union of the Celtic Church with the Roman Church was followed by a flourishing period for Christianity, especially in northern England. In 681 a monastery was founded at Jarrow in County Durham, and here for more than fifty years lived the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), one of the greatest scholars of the time. Among those inspired by Bede was St Boniface (680–754), the 'Apostle of Germany'. Another great English centre of learning was the episcopal school at York, from whence Charlemagne obtained Alcuin (c. 735–804), who played such an important part in the Carolingian renaissance.

The Danish invasion brought a serious setback for Christianity in England, but after he had defeated them Alfred the Great set out to revive religion and learning in England. His work was continued by St Dunstan, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 961 to 988 and strongly influenced by the Cluniac revival. St Dunstan founded over forty new monasteries in England, including the great abbeys of Peterborough, Ely and Thorney, as well as seeking to impose strict observance of the Benedictine rule upon all religious houses. Nevertheless, the English Church, despite its piety, was in the years before the Norman Conquest still backward compared with the Church on the Continent. The Normans were to bring it into closer contact with the rest of Europe and make it more efficient in its organisation.

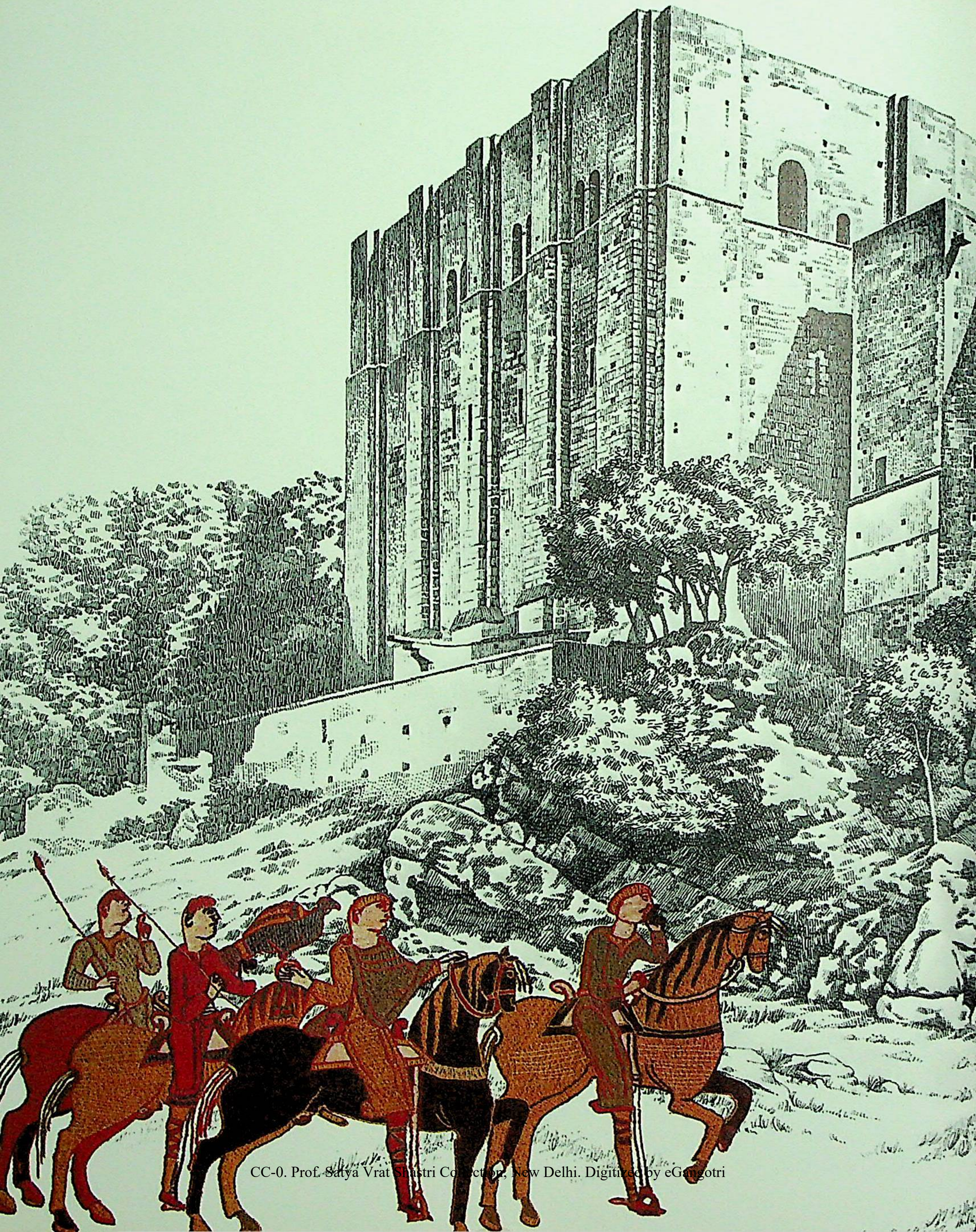
The struggle with the Danes

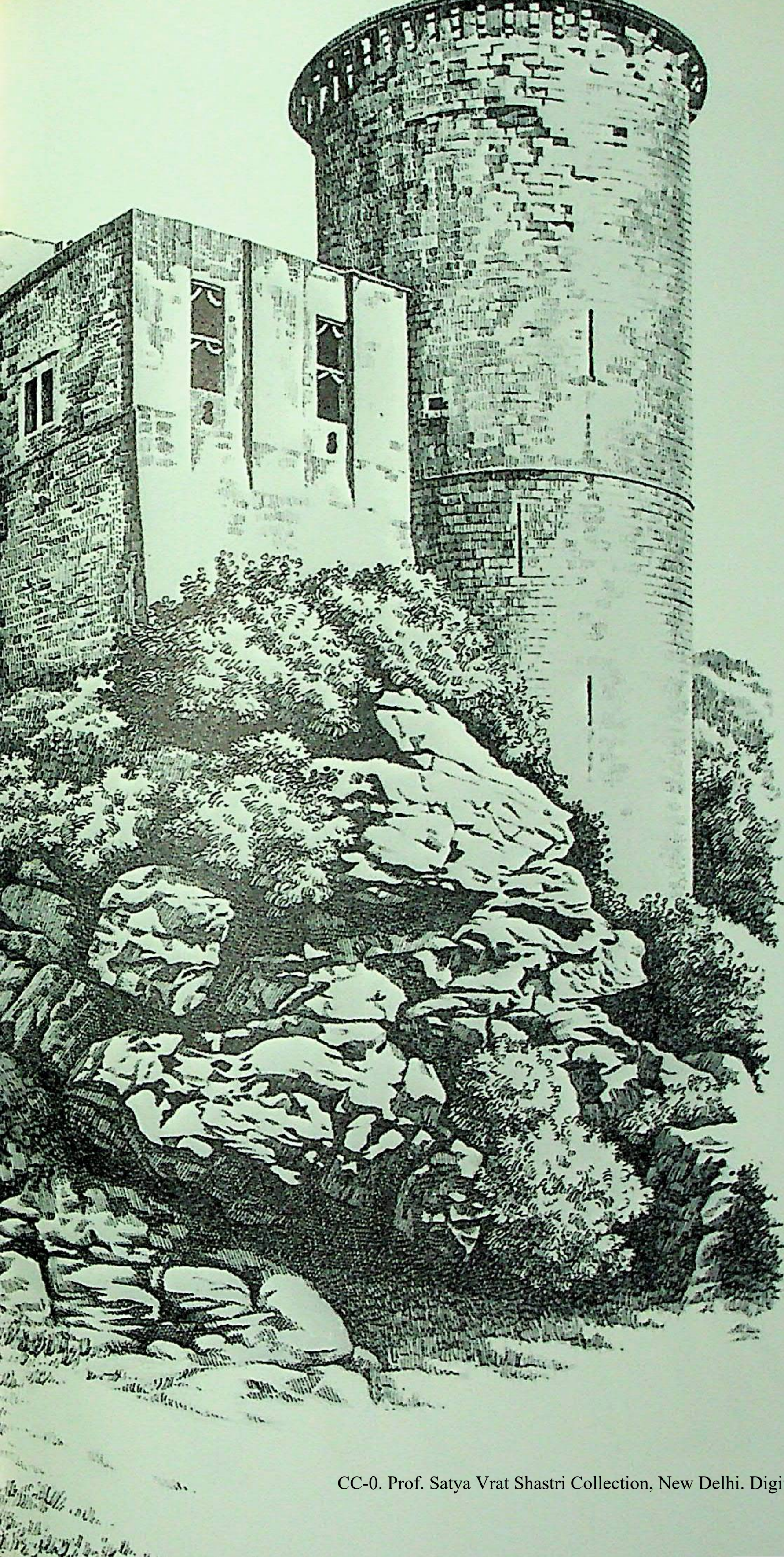
When the Danes began to raid England towards the end of the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxons were unable to resist them. To meet them they had the fyrd, a national army in which all freemen had to serve, and were armed with boar-spears and forks. They were no match for the Danish warriors with their coats of mail, battle-axes and skilled horsemanship.

The crisis was reached early in 871 when the Danes, who were now settling in England instead of raiding it, advanced southwards to conquer Wessex, which would enable them to dominate the country. There they



Above and left: the Normans were descendants of the Vikings. Their feudal nobility had adopted the tactics of the French cavalry. Abandoning foot-combat with the battle-axe, they fought on horseback with lance and sword. Each baron led from thirty to fifty knights and was obliged to perform forty days of military service a year for his duke. Bayeux Tapestry. (Musée de Bayeux.)





were met by Alfred the Great and his army. The struggle between them was not concluded until 878, when the country was divided between English and Danes.

The Danish part of England was known as the Danelaw. It lay north of a line from the middle of the Thames to Chester and as far as the River Tees and Solway Firth. Although independent Danish occupation of the Danelaw did not last more than fifty years, the law administered in this territory remained different from the rest of England for many years after the Norman Conquest.

Alfred's successors were able to recover the Danelaw, but before the end of the tenth century Danish attacks on England began again, and these coincided with the reign of a weak king, Ethelred the Unready (978–1016).

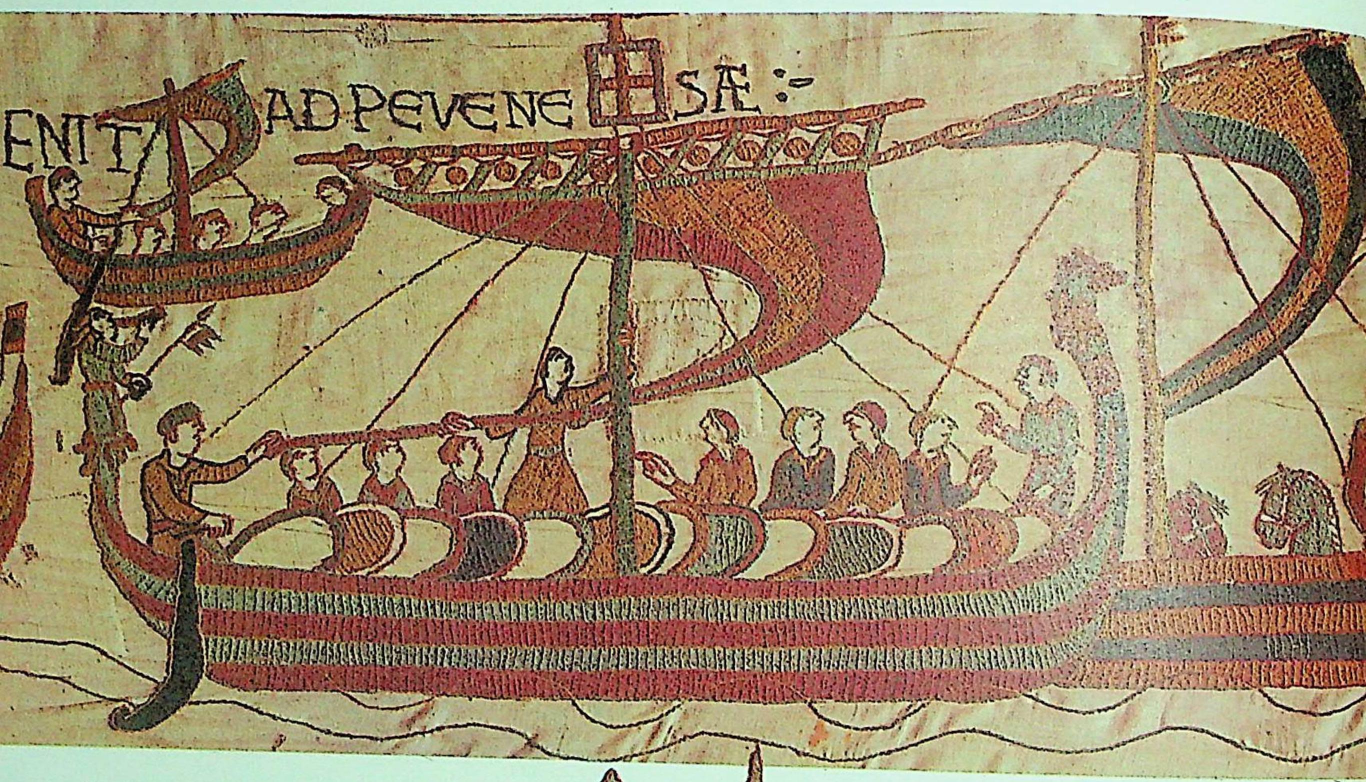
When the Danes defeated him at the Battle of Maldon in 991, he attempted to buy them off with money raised by a new tax on land called the Danegeld. Nonetheless, the Danish invasions continued, and in 1002, during a truce, Ethelred treacherously ordered the massacre of many of the Danes in England on St Brice's Day (13 November). In revenge, Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark, raided England in 1003 and in 1013 began a conquest of the country which was only interrupted by his death.

Canute and Edward the Confessor

Upon Ethelred's death, Sweyn's son, Canute, claimed the English throne, which he secured after a series of campaigns against Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside.

Canute ruled Denmark and Norway as well as England. He had, therefore, to delegate some of his authority in England, and he organised the kingdom into four earldoms. At the same time, he tried to unite Danes and English. The Earls of Northumbria and East Anglia were Danish while those of Mercia and Wessex were English.

The Norman barons dominated the countryside with their massive, impregnable castles. At first built of wood on artificial mounds, these fortresses later became enormous constructions of stone like the castle at Falaise. Arlette, William the Conqueror's mother, was the daughter of a tanner at Falaise.
Far left: horsemen. Bayeux Tapestry. (Musée de Bayeux.)

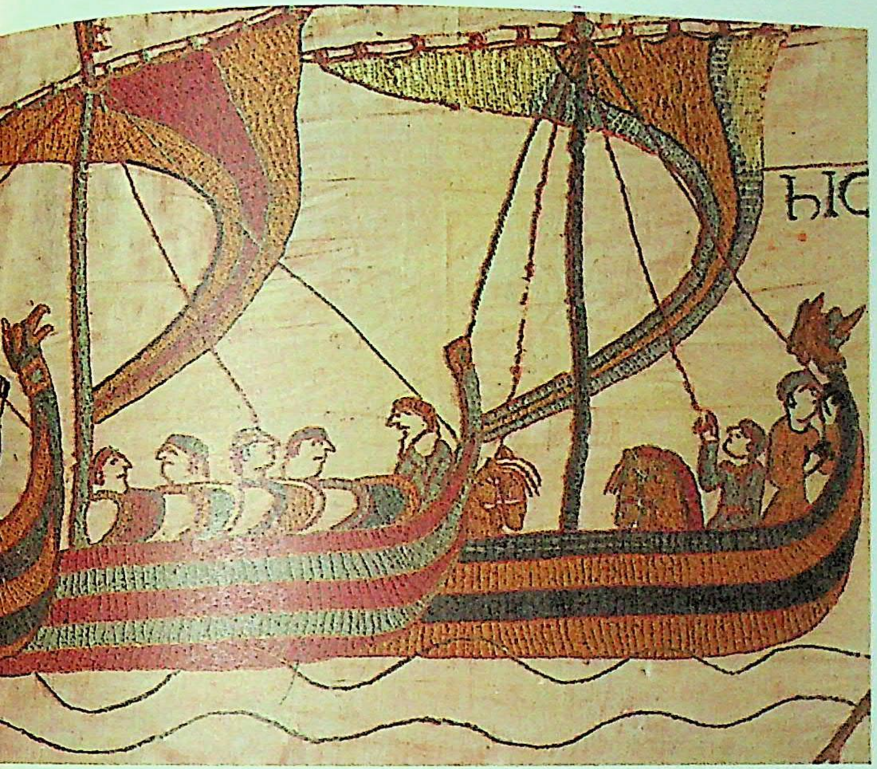


He also re-enacted the laws and the customs of the English people.

When Canute died in 1053, Danish rule in England came to an end. His sons could not hold his dominions together, so his empire fell apart. The Witan, the Anglo-Saxon assembly of great landowners and bishops, chose Edward the Confessor, a son of Ethelred the Unready, as King of England.

Edward had spent the early part of his life at the ducal court of Normandy and had been influenced by these years of exile, but he did not during his reign introduce as many Normans into high places in England as has been sometimes supposed. It was not his foreign favourites, but rather the absence of English unity which really prepared the way for the Norman Conquest. Edward did not possess the character or ability to unite his kingdom, and his childlessness made the succession to the throne uncertain. He had a monkish temperament, and his piety impressed his subjects, who called him the Confessor; but he lacked long-standing personal support in England.

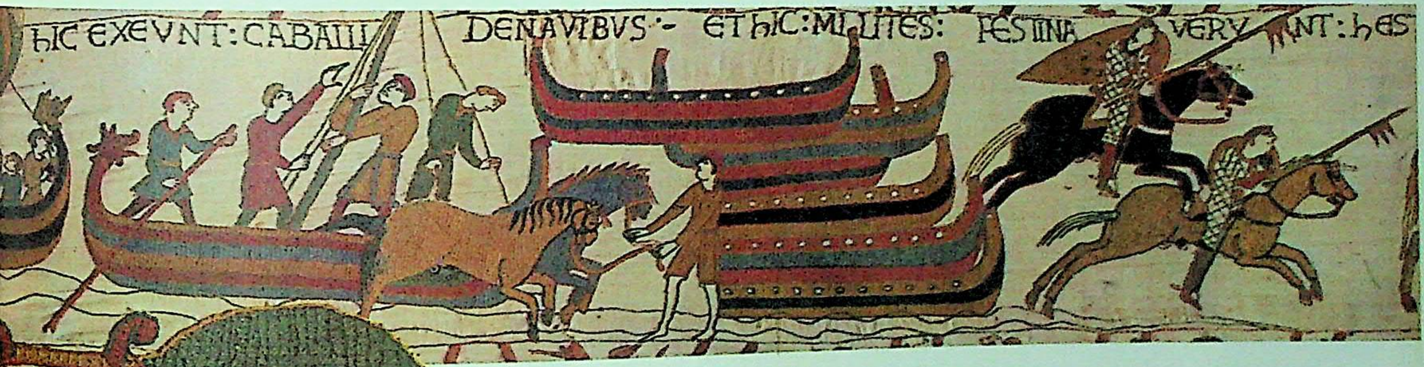
Edward had secured his election to the throne through the influence of Godwin (d. 1035), whom Canute had made Earl of Wessex. Godwin induced Edward to marry his sister and to make him large grants of land and to confer earldoms on his sons, so that even after Godwin's death, the family remained powerful in the kingdom; but their greatness provoked strong resentment in other leading men.



William the Conqueror

While the kingdom of England was weak and distracted, the duchy of Normandy was experiencing an unprecedented strength and unity under the rule of Duke William. Born in 1027 he was the illegitimate son of Robert the Devil and Arlette, the daughter of a tanner in Falaise. During the twenty years after he became duke of Normandy in 1035, William made the ducal power greater than ever before. He let it be seen that the interests of the greater Norman families were closely linked with those of the duke; that if he could receive their support, they in their turn could rely upon his protection. So feudal service became regularly organised in Normandy. In wartime the duke could call upon the service of some 800 knights from his tenants-in-chief, while they themselves maintained another 1800.

The growing strength of Normandy during the reign of Duke William was also due to an increasing religious revival in the province. New monasteries were founded, some by William or members of his family. The most famous of these was the Abbey of Bec, consecrated in 1041, which was later to own considerable land in England, including Tooting Bec near London. In addition, the Norman Church was reorganised and reformed by a strong group of bishops who had the co-operation of the duke himself.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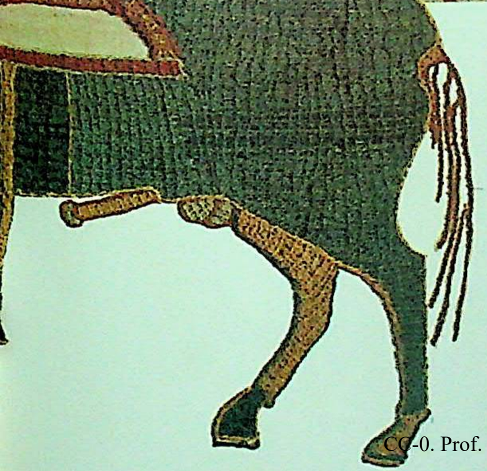
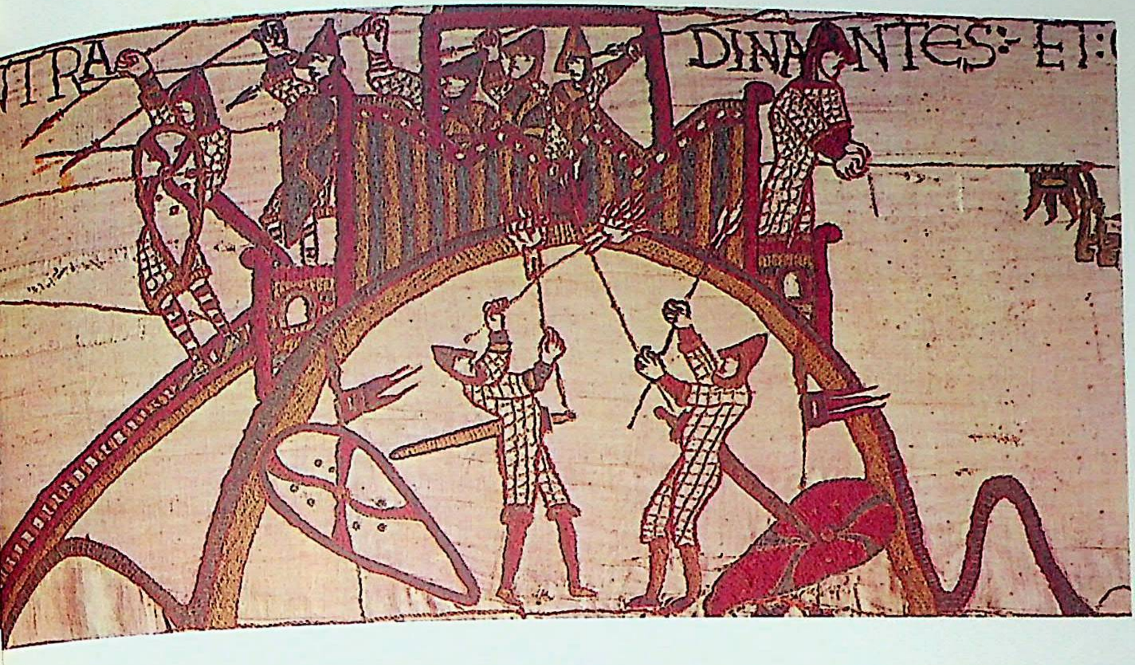


For the invasion of England William and his supporters built a fleet during the spring and summer of 1066. More than 700 sailing-boats transported about 5,000 men and 3,000 horses. Setting out from St Valéry-en-Caux, the Norman army disembarked at Pevensey on 28 September without meeting any resistance.
Top and above: scenes depicting the crossing of the Channel and the beached ships from which the horses, already harnessed and mounted, are setting out.
Left: a knight receives his standard. Bayeux Tapestry. (Musée de Bayeux.)

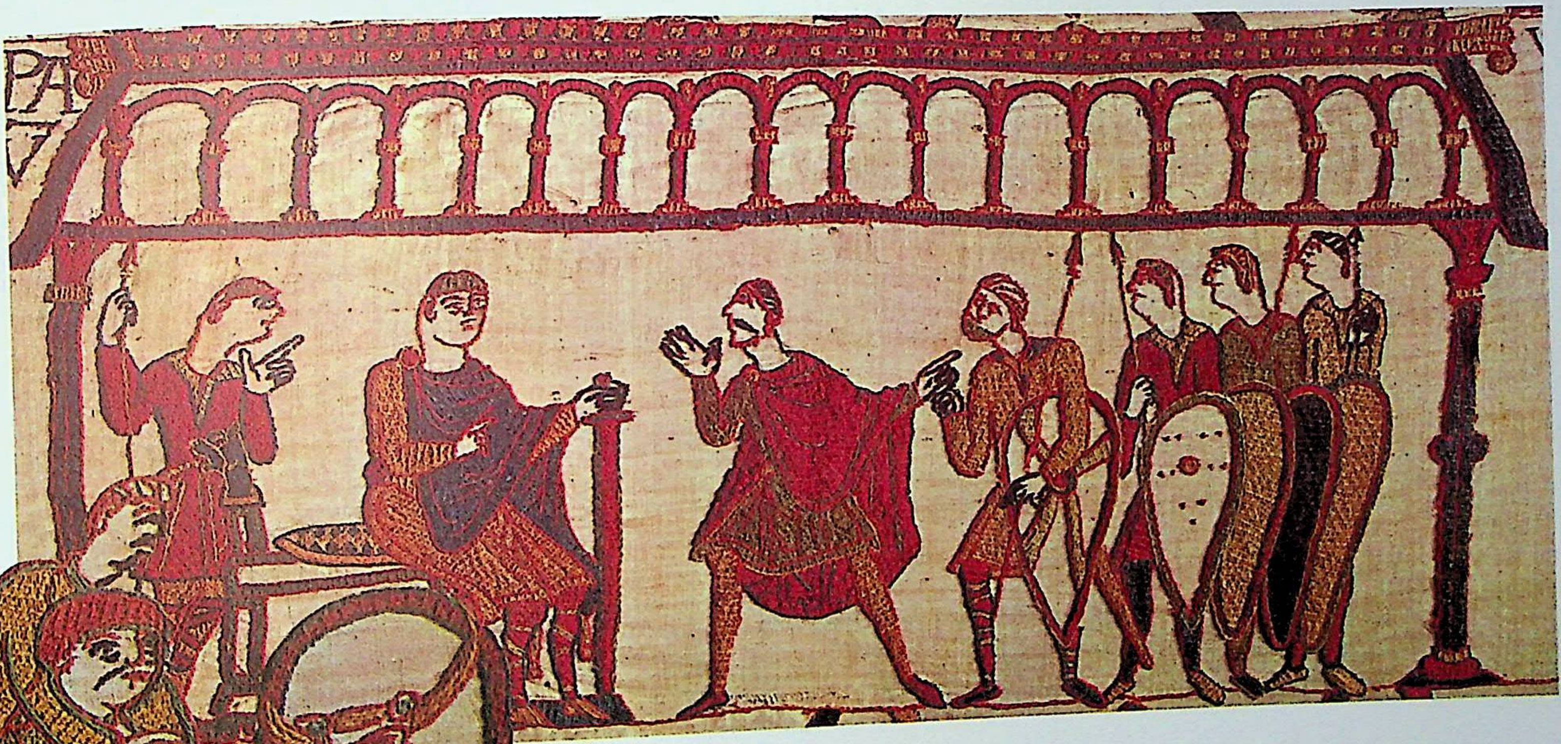
William wished to extend his power by conquering England. He claimed the English throne on the grounds of distant relationship to the Anglo-Saxon royal family. He also claimed that Edward the Confessor had recognised him as his successor and that in 1064 Harold, the head of the house of Godwin, after being shipwrecked on the Norman coast, had taken an oath (in return for being allowed to go back to England) that he would help William to secure the English throne. However, when Edward died in 1066, Harold was chosen king by the Witan, although he was not of royal blood.



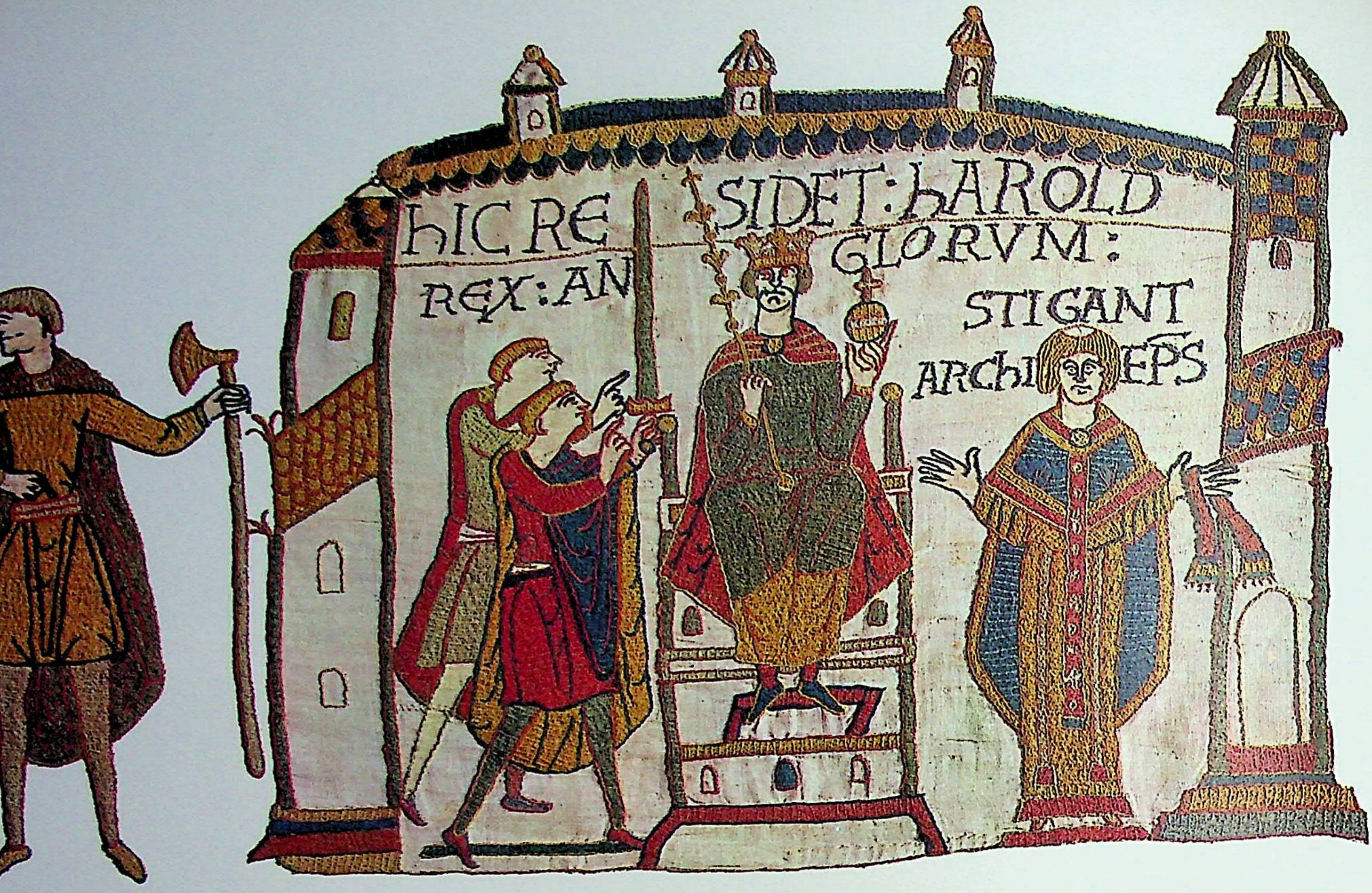
The Norman Conquest

To William this was a challenge which he could not ignore and he prepared to take an expedition to England. He gathered 800 ships and 5,000 men from many parts of Europe and with papal blessing invaded England, landing on the coast of Sussex in the autumn of 1066. Harold had been compelled to march north to defeat an attempt at invasion by Harald Haardraade, king of Norway, but he returned to confront William with an army about the same size as that of the Normans but with fewer trained and well-armed men.

The two armies met at the Battle of Hastings. Harold's army was established on a hill behind a continuous line of shields where they held firm against continuous Norman attacks until twice, deceived by feigned flights, the English foot-soldiers broke their line to give fight and were cut down by the Norman horsemen. Then the Norman archers, shooting high, subjected the English to a devastating hail of arrows. Harold was among those killed, and towards evening a final Norman charge was victorious.



William was crowned king of England in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day 1066. It took him, however, five years to complete his conquest, during which time the northern part of the country was laid waste. He was also forced to build and garrison castles in his endeavour to keep order among his rebellious subjects.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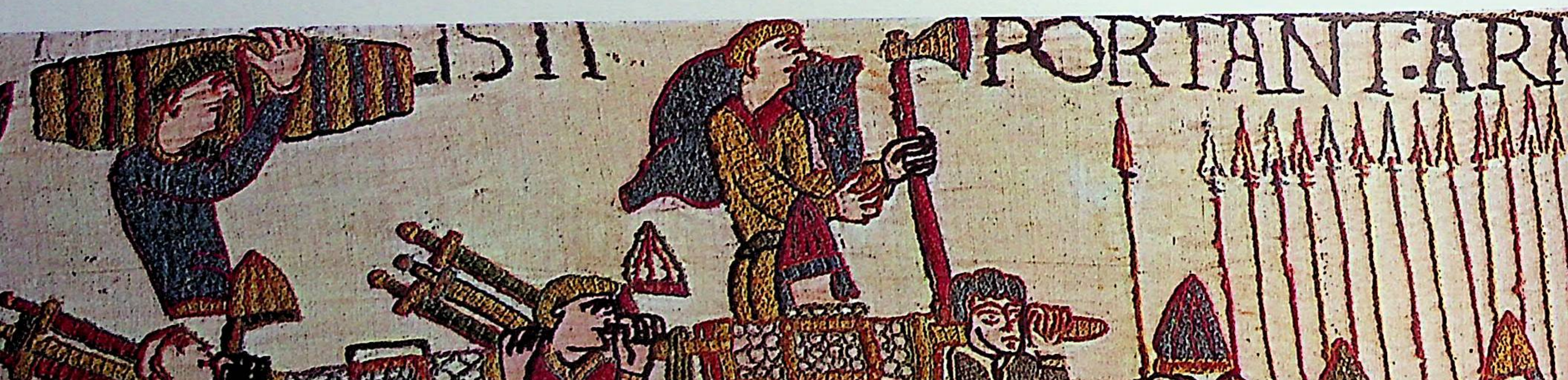
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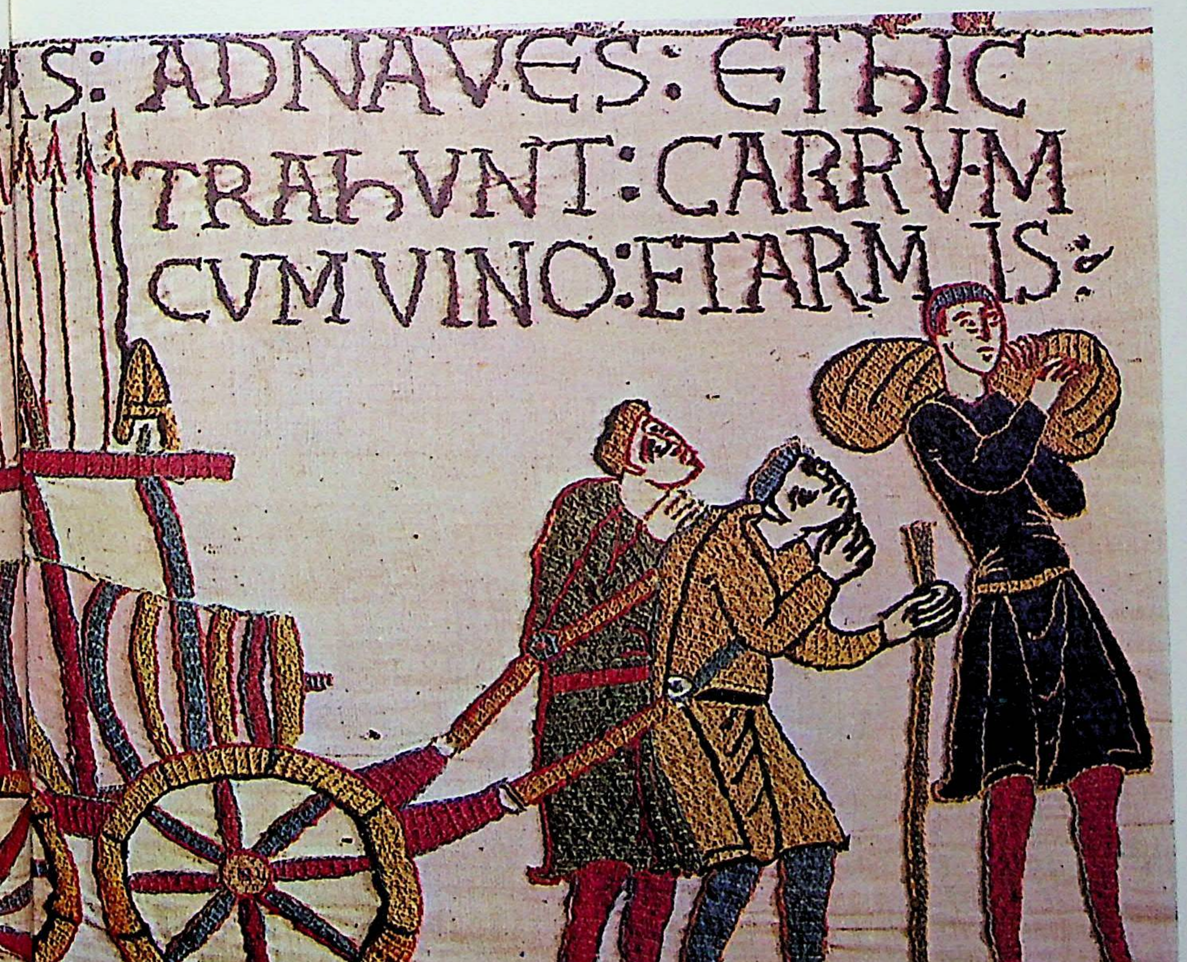


Left: Harold, crowned on the day after Edward's death, sits enthroned, holding the royal regalia and acclaimed by the people. Below: William's men carry into the boats a barrel of wine, helmets and a stack of spears, followed by swords and coats of mail. Bayeux Tapestry. (Musée de Bayeux.)

Norman feudalism in England

The Normans made England into a fully feudal state. William claimed to be the rightful successor to Edward as King of England, but he had also defeated the English in battle and so could claim possession of the whole country by right of conquest. He confiscated the estates of the English landowners, and from them he distributed land to his Norman followers, but was careful not to give it to them outright. They held their land from him as his tenants. They had to take feudal oaths to him and become his immediate vassals. Moreover, through the Salisbury Oath of 1086, he prevented any weakening of the king's power by making all tenants swear to obey the king first and their feudal superior afterwards. This made English feudalism different from continental feudalism, in which the nobility were in a position to command the full allegiance of their followers.

The Witan was converted into the Great Council, which was a feudal court composed of every tenant-in-chief of the crown. They were all bound on summons to attend its meetings to give the king their counsel and aid. Such a large number of barons, bishops and abbots made it so unwieldy a body that it usually met only on the three great festivals of the year when the king wore his crown—at Christmas in Gloucester, at Easter in Winchester and at Whitsun in Westminster. Most of the business of government was done by a smaller body, the Curia Regis, consisting of household officers and two or three bishops and barons whom the king wished to summon.

William's feudal hold over England was firmly established in the Domesday Book, which contained the results of a survey of his landed property made in 1086. It described, county by county, all the land which was held either by the king in his own right or of him by his tenants-in-chief. It was a striking example of the thorough, efficient government which the Normans imposed upon their new kingdom across the Channel.

William and the English Church

William also reformed the English Church and made it more efficient. He replaced the Saxon bishops and abbots by more learned foreigners, including the saintly and scholarly Lanfranc, who had been prior of the Abbey of Bec and was made archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. Several bishoprics were removed from villages to large and important towns—Norwich, for instance, replaced Elmham and Lincoln replaced Dorchester-on-Thames. Cathedrals and churches were rebuilt in stone. The abbeys were made more effective centres of religion and learning and the first English Cluniac monastery was founded at Lewes in Sussex in 1077. Attempts were made to have a better-instructed parish clergy and to enforce celibacy upon them. The clergy were allowed their own synod to discuss ecclesiastical matters and also church courts to try both clerical and lay offenders according to canon law.

Because of William's known zeal for ecclesiastical reform, Pope Gregory VII had blessed the banner which he took on his expedition to England, but William was equally determined to assert his rights as king over the English Church. He defied Gregory's decree and insisted upon investing his bishops. Moreover, he ordered that his consent was necessary for the recognition of papal authority and the enforcement of papal decrees in England, the publication of ecclesiastical laws by the church synods and the excommunication of a nobleman.

The unpopular William Rufus

William I could not prevent his valiant and feckless eldest son, Robert, inheriting the duchy of Normandy, but he designated his second son, William II (nicknamed Rufus—the Red) to succeed him as king of England after his death, which occurred in 1087.

powerful group of barons, who had r lands in both countries, disliked the sion and rose against him in 1088, but he eated them with the support of the rest o preferred royal despotism to baronial archy. William himself was anxious to end his rule to the other side of the annel, and in 1096 he acquired Normandy mortgage from Robert, who wanted oney for the First Crusade.

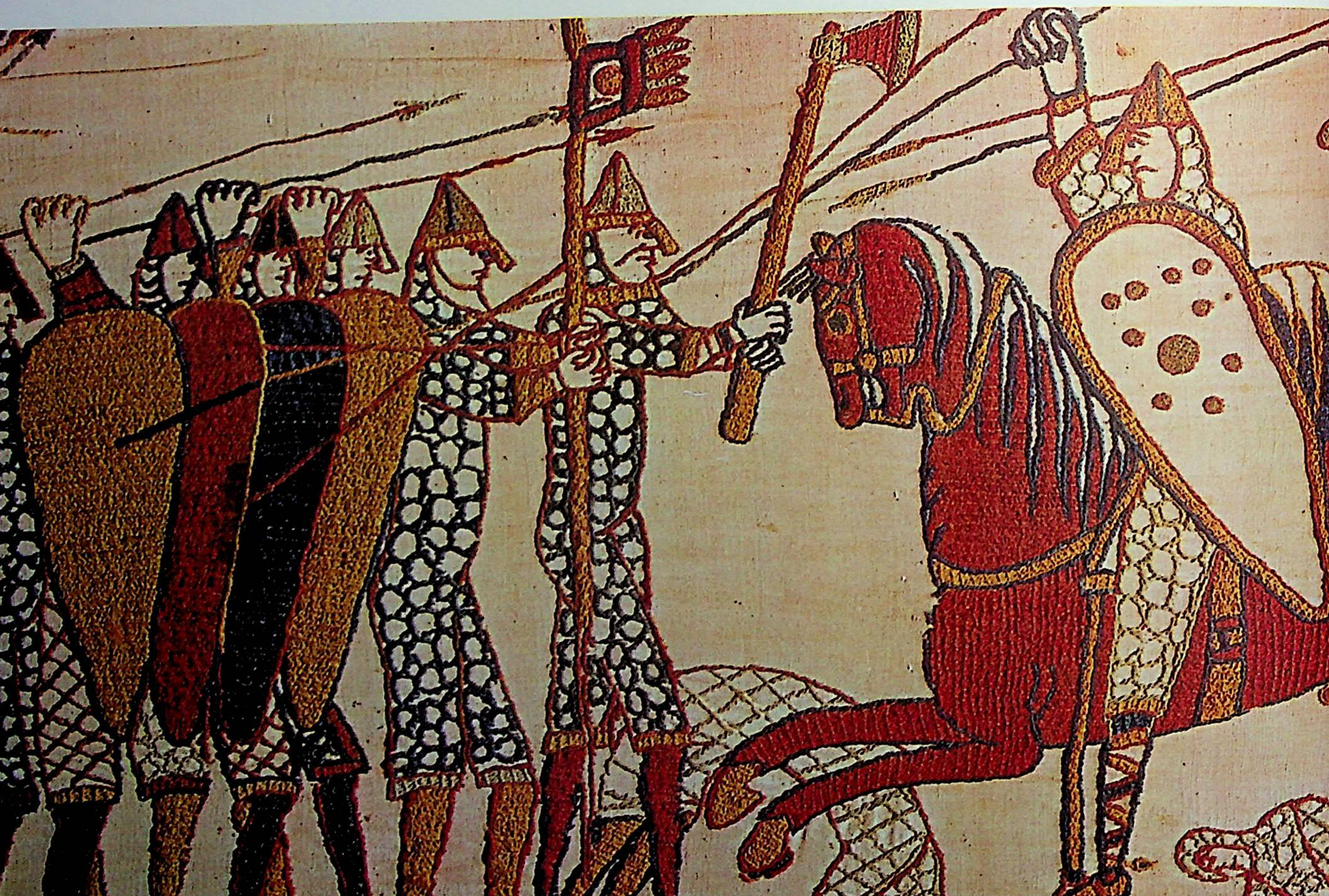
Nevertheless, William soon became very popular in England. His favourite foreign inister was Ranulf Flambard (d. 1128), hom he made Bishop of Durham. Flamard was a clever and ambitious man, who d his best to enlarge the royal revenue. He nforced full payment of all feudal dues rom the barons, particularly the profits of n estate passing to a minor or an heiress and he fines payable to the crown when an heir ucceeded to an estate.

Flambard also soon brought William into serious conflict with the Church. He advised William to postpone appointments to vacant bishoprics and take the revenues for the crown. When Lanfranc died in 1089, the king did not appoint a new Archbishop of Canterbury until 1093, and then only because a grave illness made him fear imminent death. He appointed Anselm, Abbot of Bec, who resisted William and firmly upheld the rights of the Church and sought to protect its revenues. The climax came when the pope sent over the pallium, the symbol of the papal confirmation of an archbishop's appointment. Anselm would not receive it from William, but took it himself from the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral. William was so enraged that Anselm had to leave the country in 1097 and go to Rome.

Henry I—a troubled king

William II's reign came to a sudden, violent end when he was killed in 1100 by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire. It was probably an accident, though he may possibly have been the victim of a conspiracy. He was succeeded on the throne of England by Henry I, the youngest son of William the Conqueror. Henry was nicknamed *Beauclerc* or 'the Scholar' because he could read and write. He had inherited his father's administrative ability, and while his brother had been impulsive and hot-tempered, he was calm and persevering.

To gain support from the bishops and the barons, Henry issued a Coronation Charter in which he promised not to delay ecclesiastical appointments and not to exact feudal dues harshly. He also wished to have the good will of the native English, and so he married Edith, a daughter of the king



of Scotland, who was descended on her mother's side from the royal house of Wessex. The only concession he made to the Normans was to rename her Matilda.

On the death of Rufus, Robert of Normandy returned from the crusades and resumed possession of his duchy. He also claimed the throne of England, and in 1101, urged by Ranulf Flambard (who had been imprisoned by Henry, but had escaped to Normandy), he invaded England in an attempt to dethrone Henry, who bought him off. Robert misgoverned in Normandy and attacked Henry's friends, who were barons in both England and the duchy. This presented Henry with an opportunity to intervene. In 1106 he invaded Normandy and conquered it; he pardoned Flambard, but kept Robert a prisoner in England for the rest of his life.

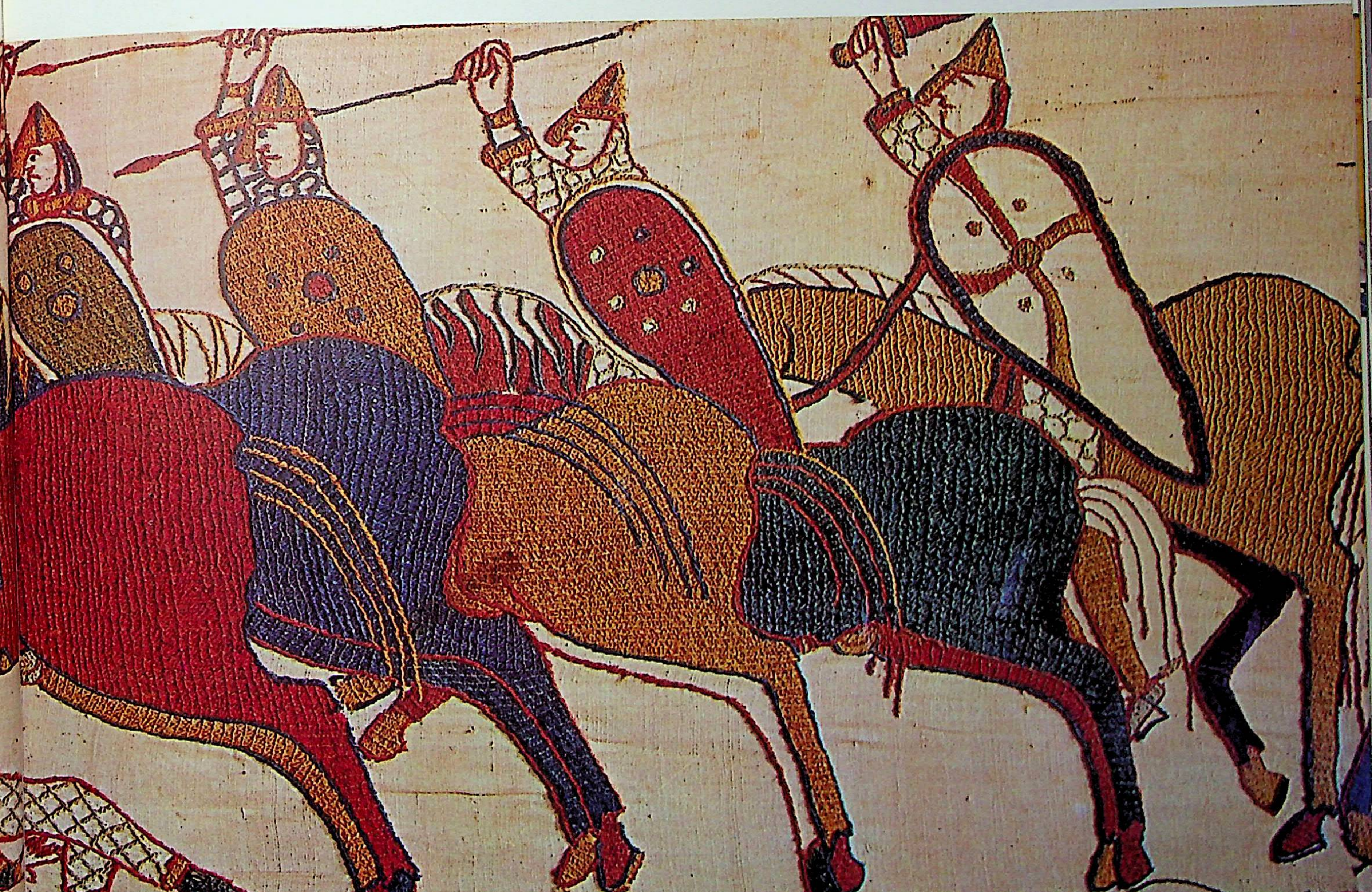
At Henry's request, Anselm came back to England, but he was more than ever resolved to offer firm resistance to lay investitures. Although he had done homage for his archbishopric when first appointed by William II, he refused now to renew his homage to Henry or to consecrate any bishops who had been invested by him. When Henry refused to give way, he again went into exile in 1103, but in 1107 he returned and reached a compromise with Henry. It was agreed that bishops were to receive their ring and pastoral staff from the pope, but were to pay homage to the king for their landed estates before they were consecrated. Henry also agreed that each bishop should be elected freely by the clergy of the cathedral, but this was to be done in the presence of the king who in practice had his wishes obeyed.

Finally, Henry set out to strengthen and improve government in England. He organised the exchequer, which was a specialised committee of the Curia Regis to deal with the royal finances. Its officials, the barons of the exchequer, collected the dues, taxes and fines payable to the crown and kept a careful record of all payments and expenditure. This was the beginning of specialised departments of government in England.

Anarchy under Stephen

Henry I's only son, Prince William, was drowned in 1120 in the wreck of the *White Ship* on a voyage from Normandy to England. Prince William's twin-sister,

Below: the Battle of Hastings. The English are fighting on foot in a compact body, protected by a wall of shields and armed with spears and two-handed axes. The Normans with their lances ride down on them. Bayeux Tapestry. (Musée de Bayeux.)



lda, widow of the emperor Henry V, married Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and ry wanted her to succeed to the English ne. Geoffrey and Matilda would in have controlled territory stretching n the Scottish border to the Loire, but barons disliked the idea of female rule feared that important posts in the state ht go to Angevins. They chose as king, phen, Count of Blois, the son of William daughter, Adela.

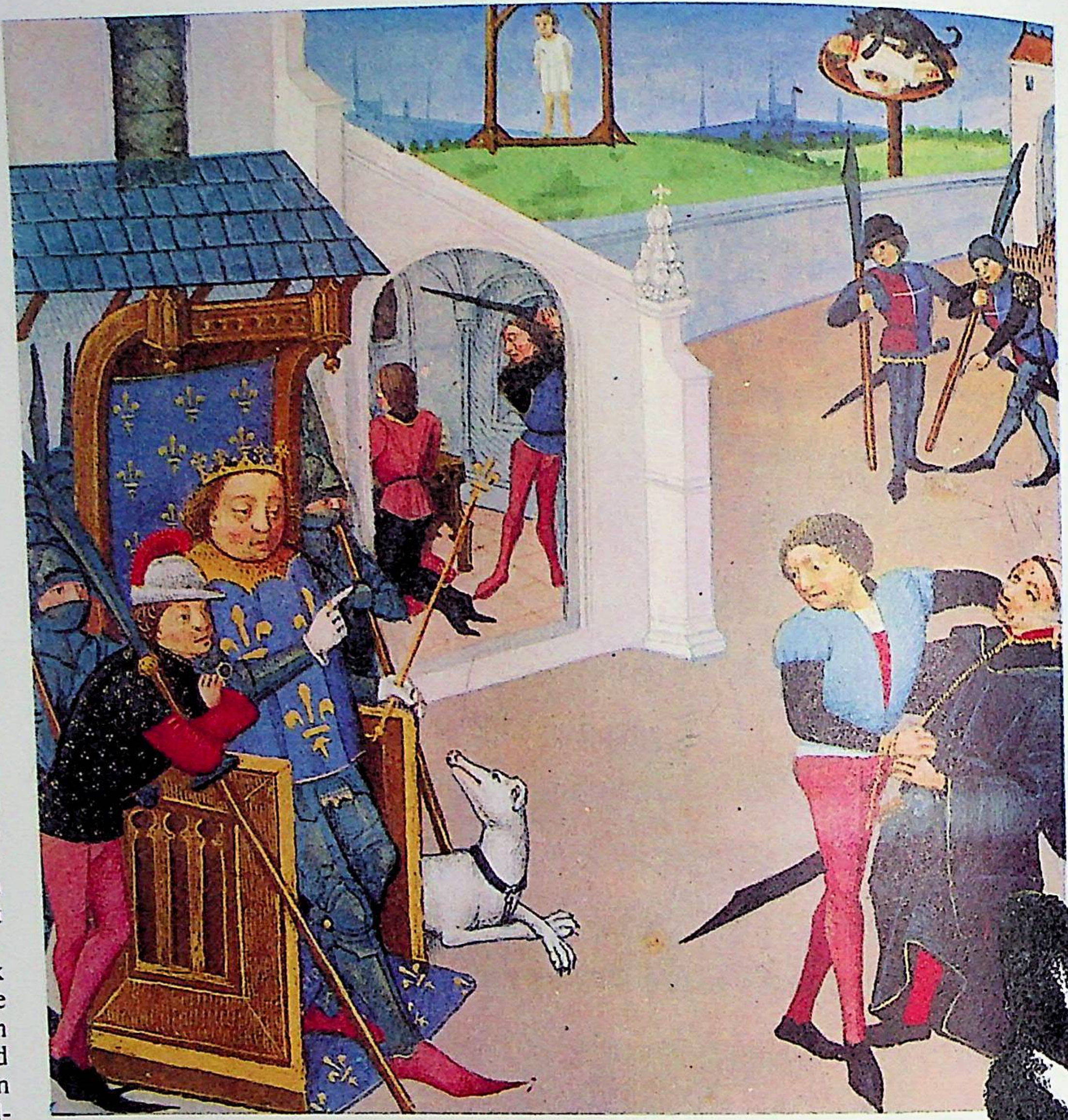
Although Stephen was a great lord in gland and France and was brave and pular, he was imprudent and could not force his will over the whole country. ere was constant civil war in England tween his armies and the armies of Matilda r the throne. King David of Scotland ossed the border in support of Matilda d was defeated at the Battle of the andard in 1138 by the army of the northern ounties, fighting under a standard of onsecrated banners from the cathedrals of urham, Ripon and York. The Scots, however, kept the counties of Cumberland, estmorland and Northumberland until he next reign. Matilda invaded England in 139, and Stephen was defeated two years ater at the Battle of Lincoln. Shortly afterwards he regained power, although Matilda ontrolled parts of the West until she left he country in 1148.

Such a situation produced a general lack of governance and justice. The barons were able to assume too much power at their own will. They fought among themselves and pillaged the countryside. Stephen's reign showed the dangers of unregulated feudalism. If the king were not strong enough to impose his will on his great tenants-in-chief, they could use their power to pursue their private feuds and undermine law and order.

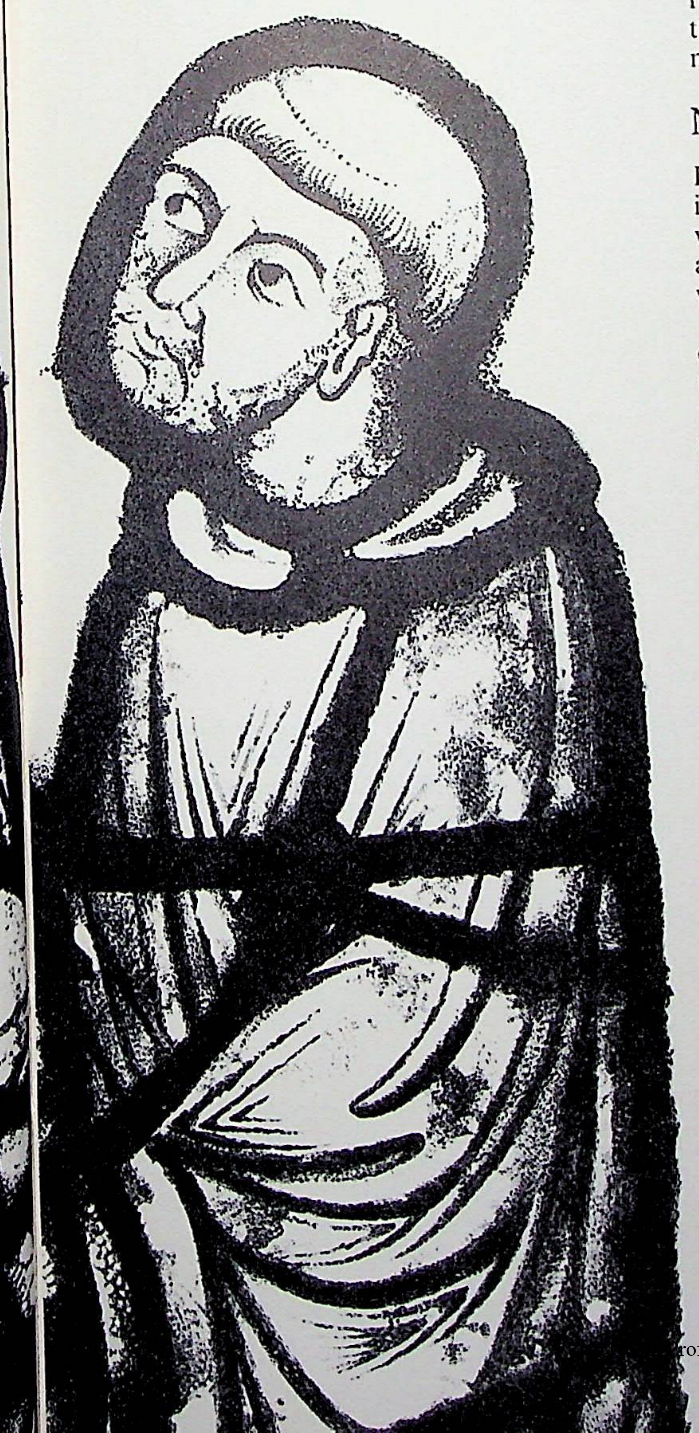
At last peace came because the barons grew afraid that France might capture their lands in Normandy while there was anarchy in England. The two hostile factions signed the Treaty of Wallingford in 1153, which provided that Stephen should be king for the rest of his life, but that he should be succeeded by Matilda's son, Henry, by her second husband, Geoffrey of Anjou. A year later, on Stephen's death, he became king as Henry II.

Henry II and the restoration of order

Henry II, the first of the Angevin or Plantagenet kings, ruled an extensive accumulation of territories. In addition to being king of England, he possessed more land in France than did the King of France himself. He inherited Normandy from his grandfather and Anjou, Maine and Touraine from his father. His wife, Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII of France, brought him Poitou and Auvergne, and in 1159 he inherited Brittany from his brother, Geoffrey.



*Above: the king of France, Louis VI the Fat (*1108-1137*), who was the rival of Henry I, nicknamed* Beauclerc *or 'the Scholar', the youngest son of William the Conqueror and king of England from* 1100 *to* 1135. *Louis VI waged three wars against Henry and was ably advised by Suger, Abbot of St Denis. Just before his death he married his son, Louis, to Eleanor, the heiress to the duchy of Aquitaine; but Louis VII divorced his wife, who married in* 1152 *Henry II (the Plantagenet) and so brought an immense inheritance to England. The vassal was stronger than his sovereign, and this was one of the causes of the Hundred Years' War. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*



Henry was a man who displayed striking contrasts in his character. He succumbed to furious outbursts of anger, was loose in his morals and keenly enjoyed sport; yet he was also religious and learned and had a sense of justice and considerable organising powers. He was a restless, energetic man with a dominating personality who made his reign as much an epoch in English history as that of William the Conqueror.

His first intention was to restore order in England and regain the authority lost by the crown. The barons themselves were now mostly tired of warring and plundering and willingly co-operated in the restoration of peace. One after another, illegal baronial castles were destroyed and their foreign mercenary troops expelled from the kingdom. At the same time, royal castles and estates, which had come into baronial possession, were recovered for the crown. Private mints, set up by about a dozen bishops and barons during Stephen's reign, were closed and their coins replaced by royal coinage. In these ways the excesses of the feudal system were curbed by strong monarchical government.

New royal armies

It was a serious weakness for the crown that it had to rely for its forces upon the barons, who might not always be loyal. Henry adopted two measures to provide himself with a more effective army.

Earlier English kings had levied a tax called scutage upon their ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief instead of requiring them to provide troops for the royal army. Henry allowed his barons also to pay it and with this tax hired mercenary soldiers. They were more reliable than the baronial troops and served longer than the annual period required of a feudal force.

Later Henry, through the Assize of Arms in 1181, revived the fyrd, the old Anglo-Saxon army in which every freeman had served. He ordered all freemen to equip themselves with weapons and armour and be ready to serve under the king when required. There were now two royal armies —a small, trained force to serve abroad and the fryd to meet foreign invasion or baronial rebellion. In this way the military purpose of feudalism had been largely destroyed.

More money for the crown

Henry had to increase the royal income if he were to preserve his authority and hold his empire. Scutage gave him more money, and in 1170 he replaced most of the sheriffs by officers of the exchequer, because they were likely to be more efficient tax-collectors and easier for the crown to control than the sheriffs, who had nearly all been independent landowners.

Henry needed, however, yet more money, partly because of the heavy cost of putting down a rebellion (1173-4) against him by his four sons who were supported by their mother, Queen Eleanor, the kings of Scotland and France and a number of barons. One of his new sources of revenue was heavy fines, imposed through the Assize of the Forest of 1184, on all who had taken game in the royal forests or broken the forest law in other ways. Another source of revenue was a new tax, the Saladin Tithe, levied in 1188 at first for the crusades. This marked the first taxation of personal movable property as opposed to land.

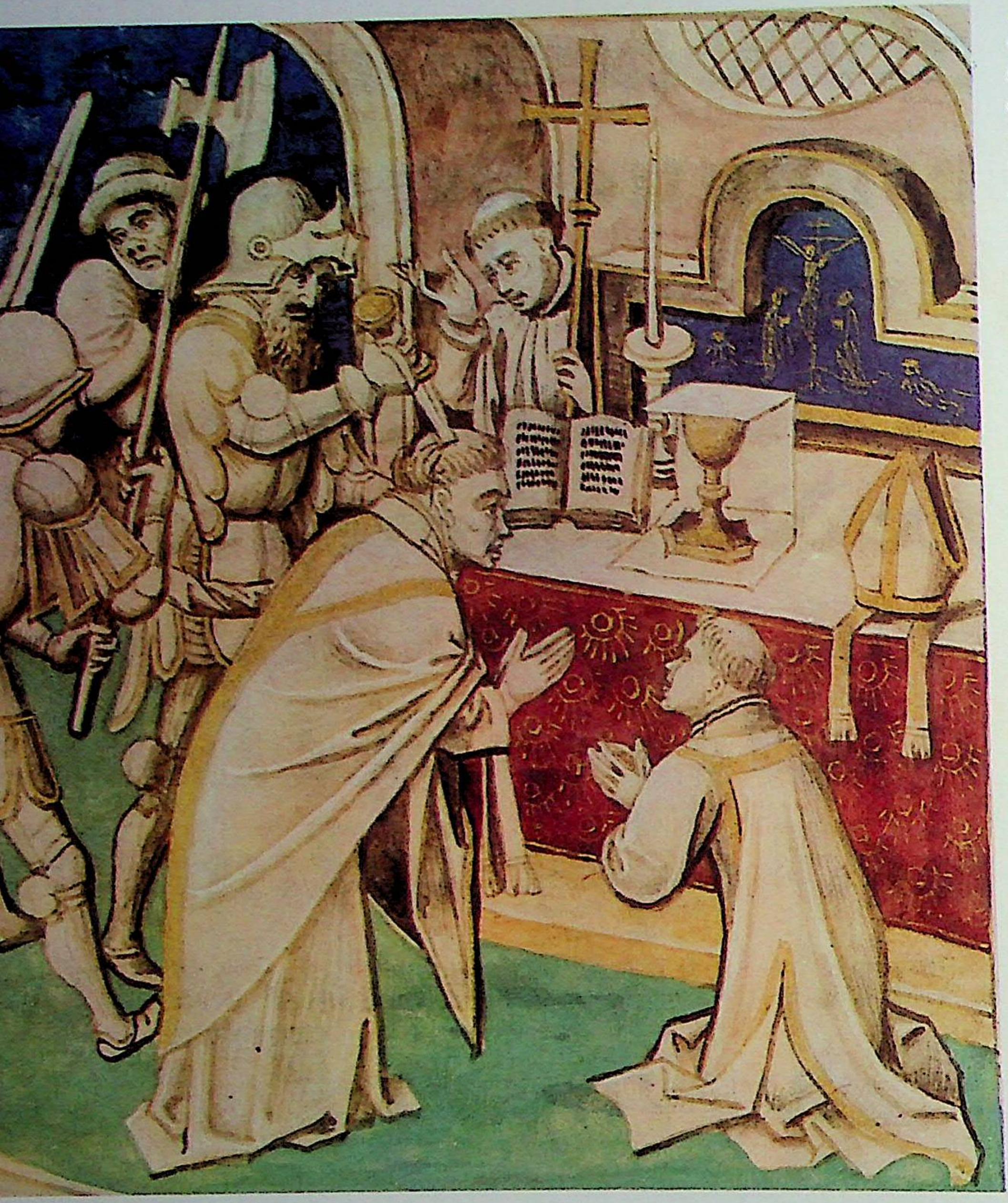
Judges and jurors

The barons in Stephen's reign had increased the powers of their feudal courts. Henry wanted to extend royal justice and to deprive the barons of much of the authority and profits their courts brought them. By the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, he ordered that when the royal judges held courts regularly in different parts of the country, they were to be met in every county by twelve men from each division or hundred to present those accused in criminal cases. When private individuals sought redress in civil cases for some wrong they had suffered from other individuals, the Norman method was a 'trial by battle' between the two disputants, but this had never been much liked in England. It became the practice, therefore, to allow a second or 'petty jury' to try these cases. During Henry II's reign, 'trial by ordeal' continued in criminal cases, but in 1215 the Church ordered the clergy to cease to take part in it, and so the 'petty jury' was also adopted in these cases.

Murder in the cathedral

In 1155 Henry appointed a priest, Thomas Becket, to be his chancellor or chief secretary. Becket was a friend of the king and hunted and feasted with him. He also became totally absorbed in the king's business and even supported him when he taxed the Church heavily. Then, in 1162, Henry appointed him Archbishop of Canterbury. This was the most serious mistake of his life. Becket accepted the post reluctantly, realising that sooner or later he would be drawn into conflict with the king.

Left: a stained glass depicting Suger, the great French churchman of the twelfth century.



Left: the murder of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral in 1170 by four knights, aroused by Henry II's angry words about his archbishop. Henry afterwards had to do penance, while Becket gained the crown of martyrdom. Becket was not actually murdered in front of the altar, as this and many other illustrations show, but as he entered the north transept during evensong. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Henry wished to have Becket as archbishop so that he could reduce the increased powers which the Church had gained by taking advantage of the crown's weakness during Stephen's reign. Becket was ardent and ambitious. He set out to change himself from a splendid courtier to a perfect archbishop. He resigned from the chancellorship, adopted an austere way of life and proceeded to devote himself wholeheartedly to religious matters.

The crisis in the relations between Henry and Becket arose over the church courts. These courts alone could try a priest for any crime, but their heaviest penalty, even for murder, was to degrade him, that is to say, make him a layman again. It was common for men of bad character to become ordained to secure this protection, and more than a hundred murders were committed by priests in the early years of Henry's reign.

Henry, therefore, issued the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164, which ordered that after a church court had degraded a guilty cleric, it must hand the man over to a royal court to be punished. He claimed that William I had intended this when he recognised the authority of the church courts in England.

Becket rejected the arrangement. He insisted that it would mean that a cleric was punished twice for the same offence. He fled to France and remained there for six years. Then king and archbishop agreed to a truce. Becket returned to England, but he was still determined to uphold his principles. He suspended the Archbishop of York and two other bishops who had supported the royal cause. When Henry heard of this, he uttered rash words which led four knights to murder the archbishop in his cathedral.

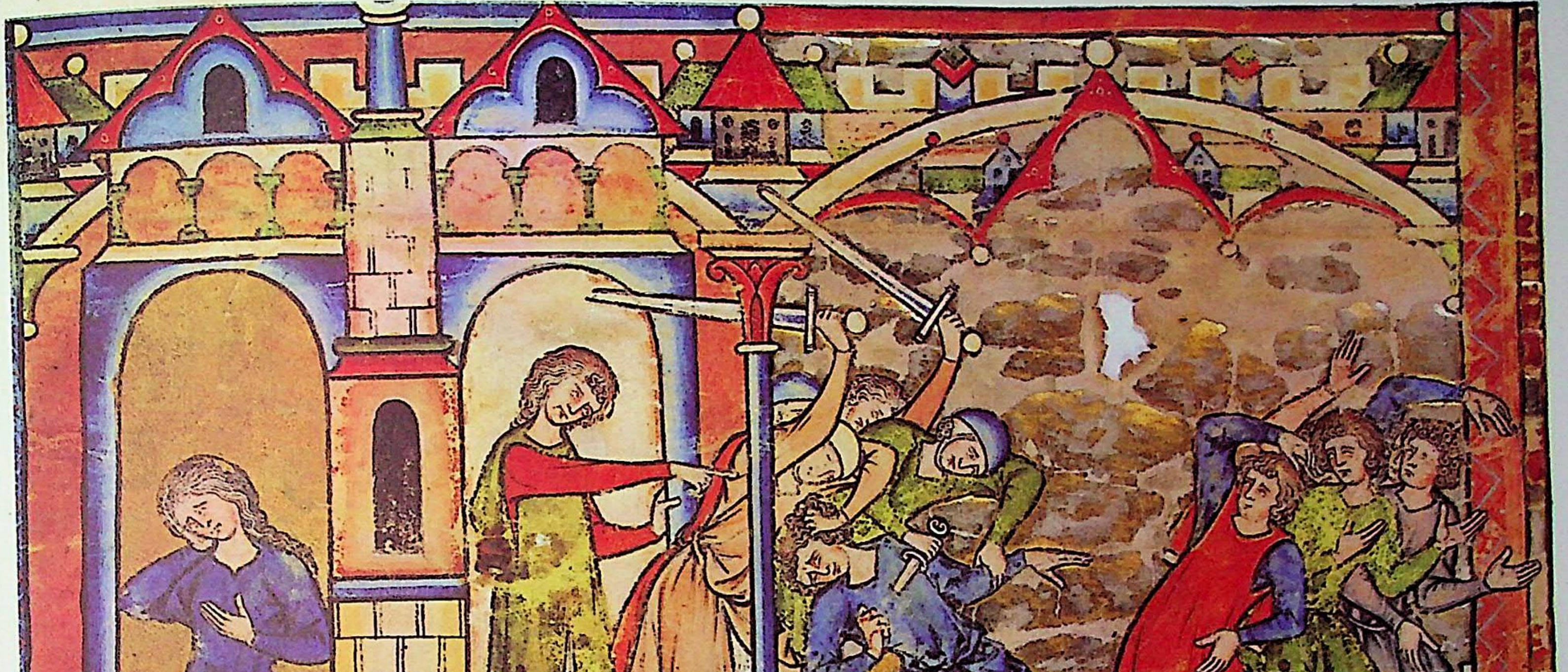
The murder caused deep indignation throughout Europe. In 1173 the pope made Becket a saint, and his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral became one of the most important centres of pilgrimage in Christendom. Henry did penance there in 1174 and was whipped by the monks of the cathedral. Moreover, he had to abandon his claim that degraded clerics should be punished by the royal courts.

From Philip Augustus to St Louis

Angevin England had known a great king in the person of Henry II. Now France also was to experience a decisive reign, that of Philip Augustus (1180–1223).

When he came to the throne at the age of fifteen, Philip Augustus was an energetic boy who was passionately fond of hunting. As he grew up, he retained that energy and

Below: the murder of Prince Arthur, the son of Geoffrey of Brittany, by his uncle, King John of England. Committed in 1203 at Rouen, the details of the crime are, in fact, unknown. Philip Augustus, king of France, had John condemned for murder by his barons, but Pope Innocent III pronounced this sentence doubtful, since noblemen could not condemn to death a consecrated king. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



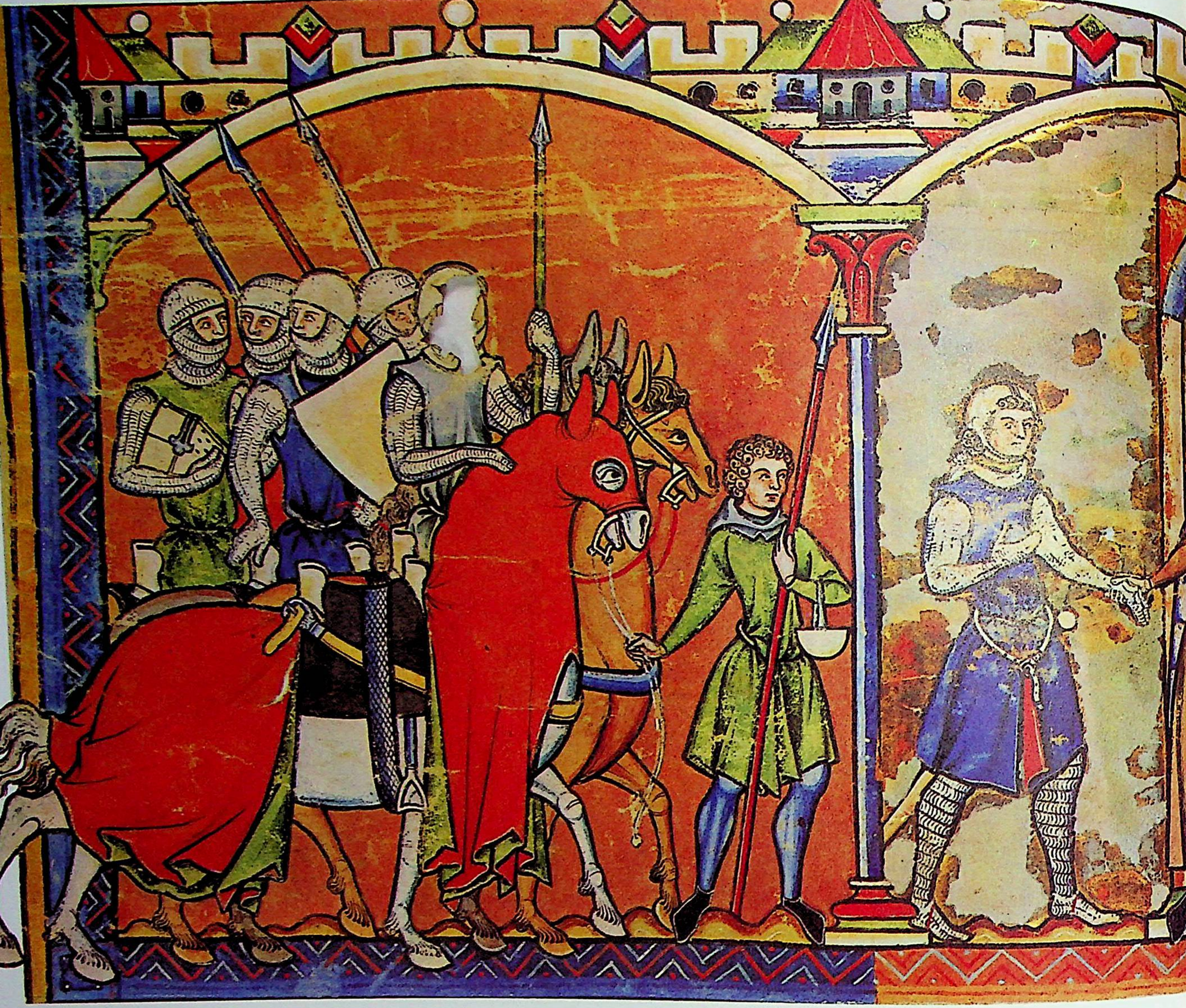
showed himself to be also ambitious and politically astute. He was not to be an outstanding soldier, but he was always skilful and entirely unscrupulous as a diplomat. He preferred, indeed, intrigue to war.

At his accession, the royal domain was still of modest dimensions, flanked on one side by the possessions of his maternal uncle, the Count of Champagne, and on the other by the Anglo-Norman Empire, then at its height. Philip soon proved his independence and wish for territorial gains. His first marriage, when still only fourteen, was with Isabella of Hainaut, the last direct descendant of the Carolingians and a niece of the Count of Flanders. Her dowry was Artois, but in 1185 by combined threats and diplomacy, he also obtained Amiens from the Count of Flanders. This brought the royal domain to the Channel and compelled the neighbouring counts to become his allies.

Philip Augustus and Richard Lion-Heart

Philip could now safely turn his attention to his far more formidable Angevin rival. Just as his father, Louis VII, had assisted the revolt against King Henry II of England by Queen Eleanor and his four sons in 1173-4, so he now seized every chance of assisting the reckless quarrels of Henry's eldest surviving son, Richard, with his father. Henry died in 1189 and, cursing his sons, he named Richard as his successor to the English throne.

Philip and Richard then set out in 1190 on the Third Crusade, but the two friends soon became mortal enemies. Soon after the capture of Acre, Philip went back to France. He said that he was ill, but he really wanted to plot against Richard's French possessions in his absence. Richard, for



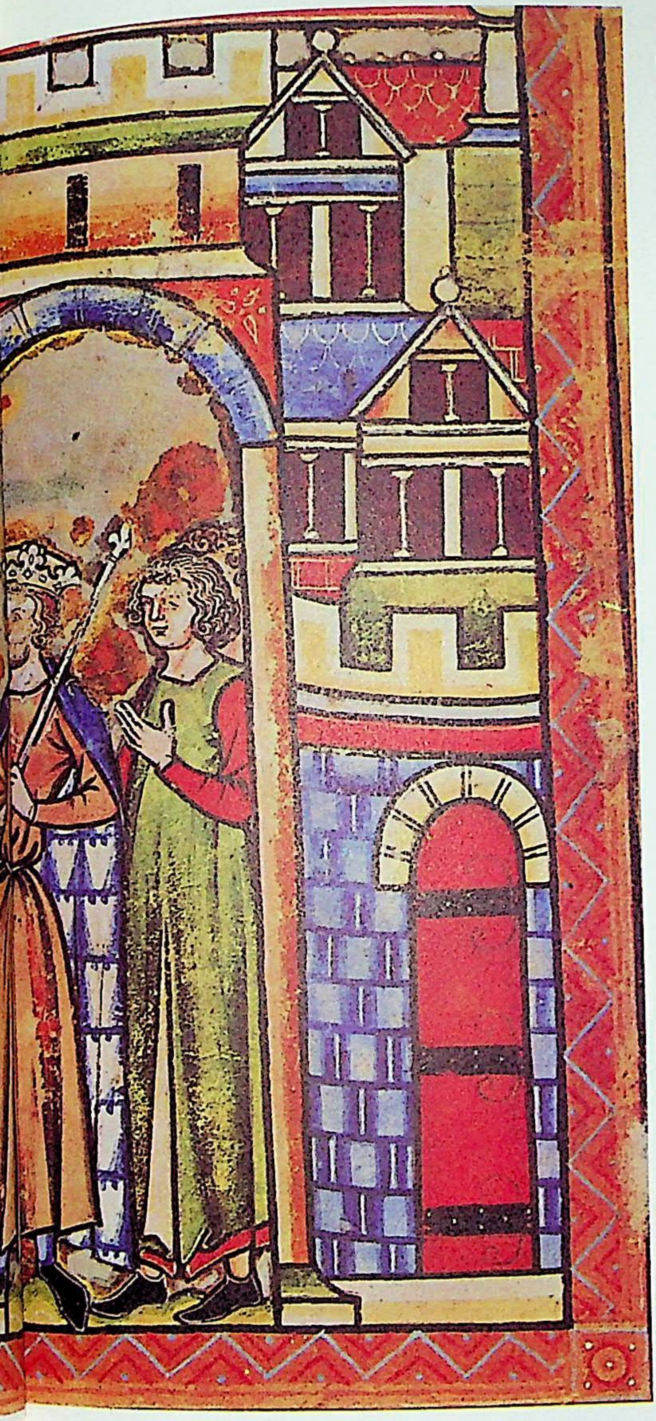
whom crusading was a dominating passion, advanced towards Jerusalem but was not able to take the city, and in the end he had to abandon the campaign. On his way home, he was shipwrecked on the Adriatic coast and fell into the hands of the Duke of Austria, with whom he had quarrelled during the Crusade. The duke handed him over to the Emperor Henry VI. Philip, who had by now made an alliance with Richard's treacherous brother, John, for the conquest of Normandy, tried to bribe the Emperor to keep the King of England a prisoner. However, Richard's English subjects paid a heavy ransom, and after fifteen months he was set free in 1194.

Richard immediately opened a campaign in Normandy to win back the places Philip had taken during his absence. He was a brilliant soldier, and within a few weeks he recovered numerous castles and towns. Philip fled before him, leaving behind his treasure and incriminating records of his negotiations with John. By the beginning of 1196, however, both sides were exhausted, and the Treaty of Loviers gave back to Richard most of Philip's conquests.

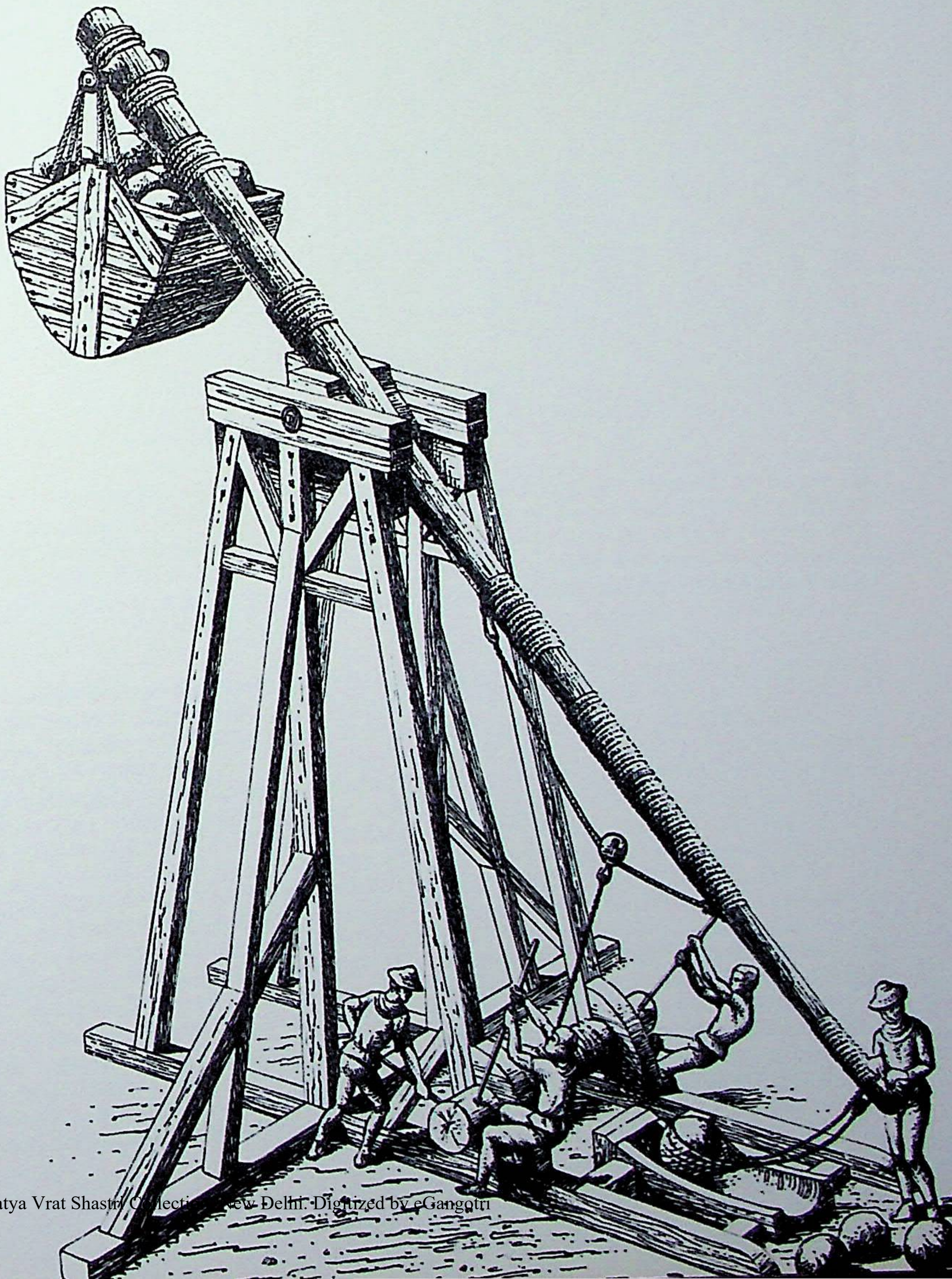
There followed, however, only a brief respite in the fighting between the two kings. Richard was determined to regain the rest of his territory. The starting-point for its recovery was to be his new castle of Château-Gaillard, which he built on the frontier of Normandy in the Seine Valley. It was constructed at great expense under his personal supervision and modelled on the crusading fortresses of the East. With its outworks, double walls and keep bristling with defences, it seemed impregnable. Strategically placed in a dominating position on a bend of the river, it was Richard's 'beautiful castle of the rock', an object of pride and hope for him.

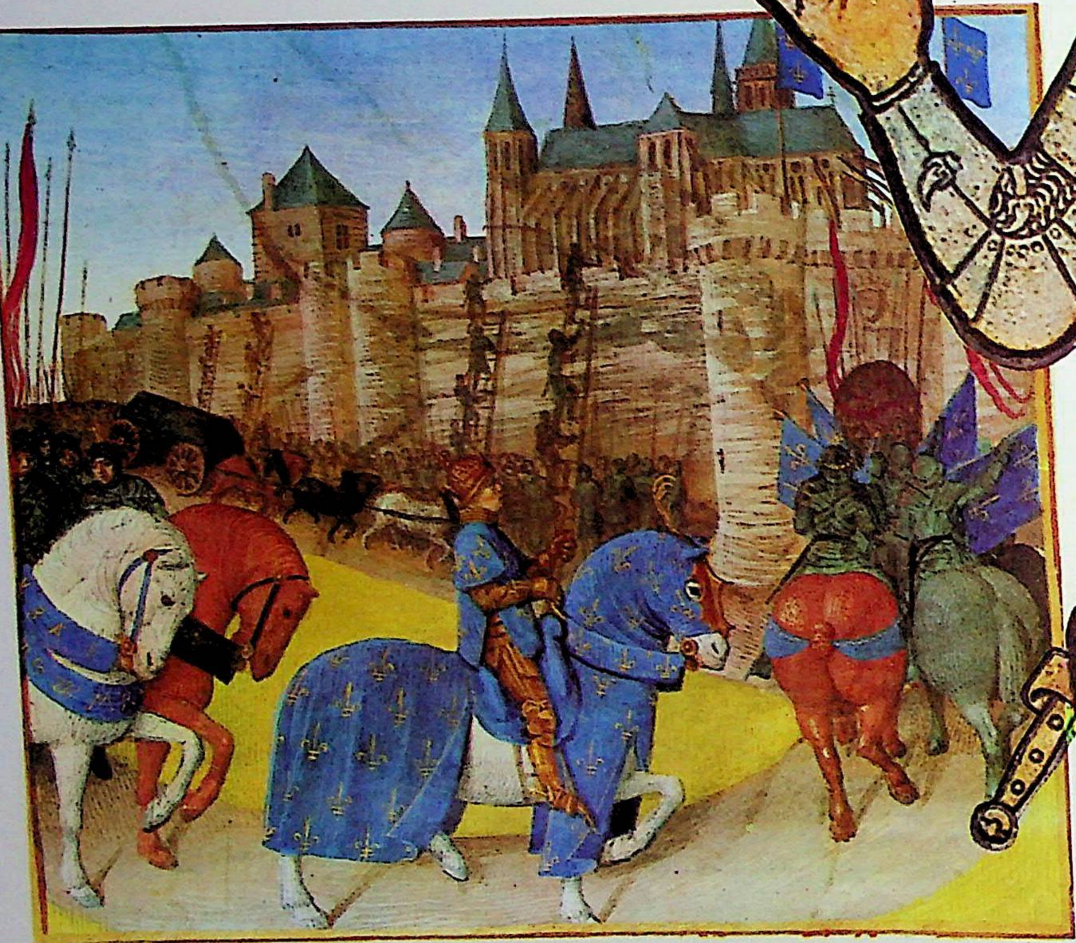
When the war was renewed in 1198, the omens seemed, indeed, favourable for Richard. He made further gains from Philip, whose position was fast becoming precarious. During a truce in the war, however, Richard, while besieging the castle of a rebellious vassal in 1199, was killed by an arrow.

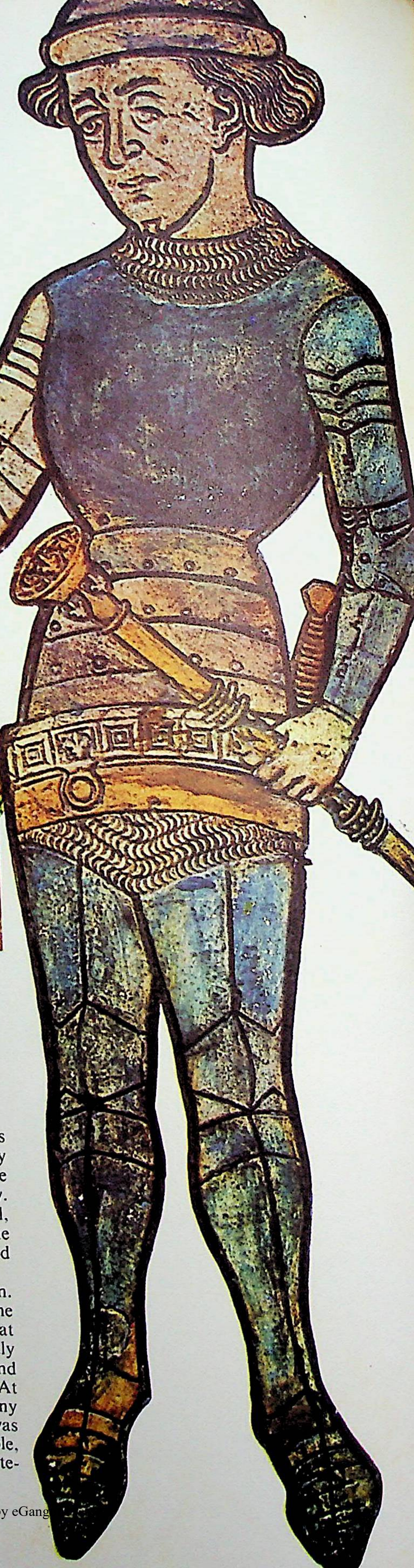
Right: a trebuchet, derived from the Roman catapult, used for throwing heavy missiles in siege-warfare.



Left: Philip Augustus, who emphasised his position as head of the feudal hierarchy, receiving homage from his vassals. In enlarging the royal domain at the expense of the nobility, he often aroused their hostility, but succeeded always in forestalling their conspiracies. The growing resources of its lands enabled the monarchy to maintain hired troops able to check feudal revolts. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





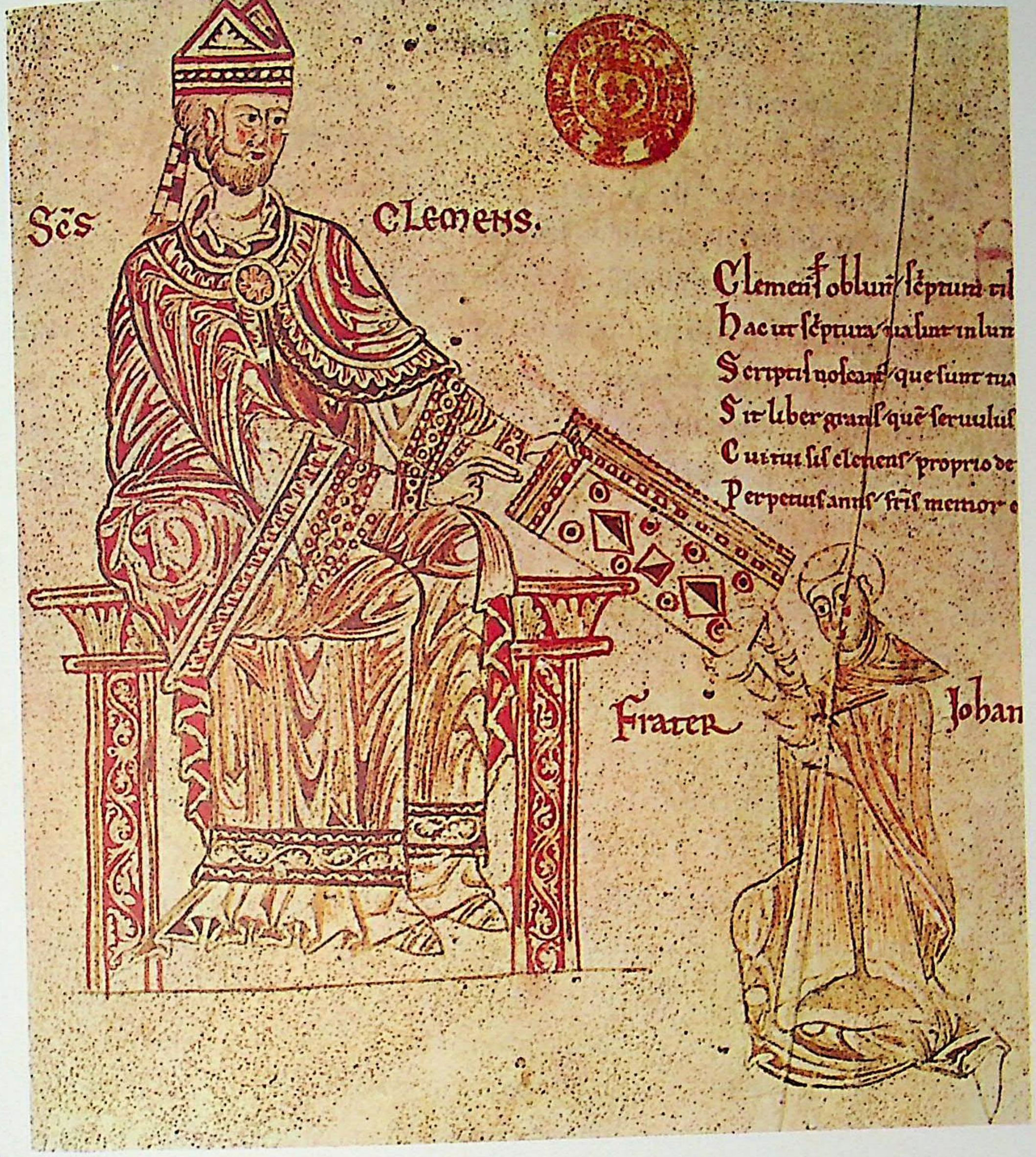


Above: Philip Augustus captures Tours from King John of England in 1204. The great fortress of Château-Gaillard also fell to him that year, and by 1208 he had seized many English provinces in France. John sought his revenge at the Battle of Bouvines (1214), but was defeated. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Right: a French knight at Bouvines.

The fate of Château-Gaillard

Richard died childless. He had designated as his successor his younger brother, John, who was accepted by England and Normandy; but many of the barons of Anjou, Maine and Touraine supported the rival claims of Prince Arthur, the posthumous son of John's elder brother, Geoffrey. Arthur was nearer in succession to the throne and, since he was only twelve years old, would allow the barons to enjoy more independence. Philip once again was ready to exploit the family differences of the Angevins. Since John needed his support, he could impose conditions in return for granting it. By the Treaty of Le Goulet in 1200 he accepted John as Richard's heir to all his French possessions and received his homage. John had to agree in return to pay a feudal relief of 20,000 marks and to cede important border districts of Normandy. Arthur was to rule Brittany as John's vassal, but he soon fell into John's hands, and he died at Rouen in 1203, perhaps murdered by his uncle.

King John was an able and energetic man. In England he gave special attention to the administration of justice. He made sure that the judges went round the country frequently to bring swift justice to the people and acted as a judge during his travels. At the same time, however, he had many inconsistencies in his character. He was unreliable, distrustful and irresponsible, sometimes generous but sometimes spite-



Above: Pope Clement III proclaiming the Third Crusade, which was led in 1190 by the three most powerful sovereigns of the West —the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Lion-Heart and Philip Augustus. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

fully cruel. Even his loyal servants could not trust him, and the personal dislike generally felt for him wherever he went undermined his most well-conceived plans.

John soon played into Philip's hands. He married in 1200 the fourteen-year-old Isabella, the daughter and heiress of the Count of Angoulême, who was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, a great vassal of Aquitaine. When the Lusignans protested, Philip summoned John to answer their charges at his court. On his refusal to appear, he declared him deprived of all his French lands and entered upon a campaign to enforce the judgement.

The Bretons rose in revolt against John at the news of the murder of Arthur. The barons of Maine defected from him. John lacked the nerve to defend Normandy and withdrew to England, but before Philip could conquer the province, he had to capture Château-Gaillard.

He directed the operations himself. Eight months of siege were needed, from September 1203 to April 1204, to overcome the brave resistance of Roger de Lacy, the constable of Chester. The castle was blockaded so closely that the defenders suffered from famine, and they had to evacuate all the local inhabitants who had taken refuge within its walls. The French began their attack in February. A long artificial causeway enabled them to reach the corner-towers, one of which was mined and brought down. The first defensive wall was taken. The assailants resorted to an artifice to take the second. While an attack was mounted elsewhere, French soldiers crept secretly into a building upon another part of the wall. The defences were turned. There remained the keep and its walls which were fifteen feet thick, but these were breached by a siege engine. There followed savage hand-to-hand fighting in the passages and rooms of the castle until all the remaining 180 defenders were killed or captured.

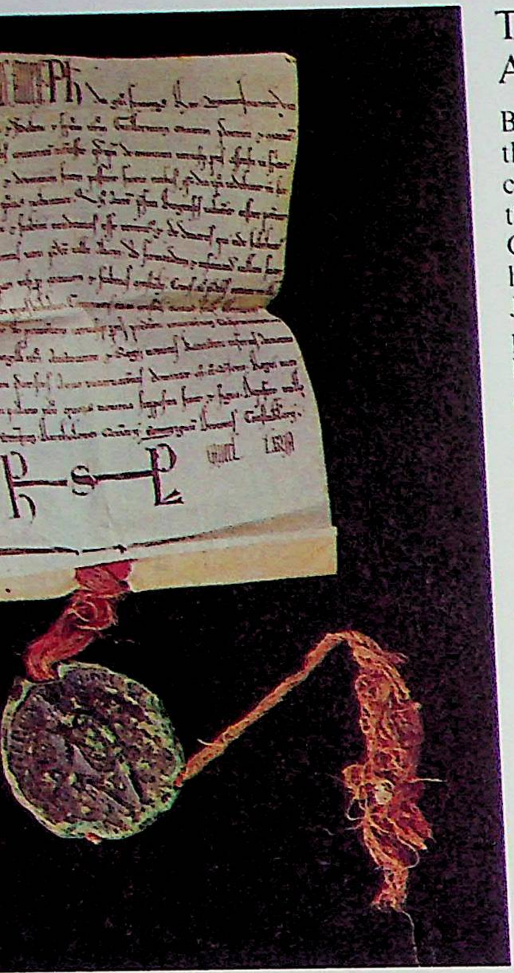
By 1204 Philip possessed Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Brittany. John was left with only Gascony, which was the southern part of Aquitaine, and the Channel Islands.

The Battle of Bouvines

Having added the Plantagenet lands to the royal domain, Philip now wished to expand northwards into Flanders, the centre of the cloth trade and the richest part of northern Europe. Here, however, he met continual opposition from John for whom the district was especially important since the Flemish cloth-manufacturers obtained nearly all their wool from England. John had agents, well-supplied with money, who won over the semi-independent Flemish cities, and he also made an alliance with the Count of Flanders, based on their mutual trading interests.

Philip decided to take advantage of John's quarrel with the papacy and his own barons to invade England. As a preliminary step, he invaded Flanders by land and sea in 1213. The Count of Flanders appealed to his ally for help. An English fleet of 500 ships immediately sailed from Portsmouth, where it had assembled to guard against invasion. It caught the French fleet at anchor off Damme, the port of Bruges, quite unawares. The French knights were away plundering or besieging Ghent. Many of their 1,700 ships, richly laden with arms, provisions and other stores, were captured or destroyed, and the rest were later burnt by order of Philip.

Philip had to withdraw from Flanders and postpone the attack on England, while John planned to follow up his success by a double invasion of France in the summer of 1214. He gained Raymond, Count of Toulouse and the emperor Otto IV as additional allies. After much delay, John himself led a diversionary attack on Poitou, but this came to an end when he failed to capture La Roche-aux-Moines and did not succeed in drawing Philip southwards. The main attack, directed at northern France, was undertaken by Imperial, Flemish and English troops. Philip met this allied army in the marshy plain near the village of Bouvines between Lille and Tournai. The battle was fought on a hot summer's afternoon when the dust rose so thickly that the combatants could hardly see each other. Though greatly outnumbered, the French knights won the day and completely outclassed the enemy.



The triumph of Philip Augustus

Bouvines was one of the decisive battles of the world. It placed Flanders under French control for about a century. It so weakened the position of the Emperor Otto IV in Germany that he had to yield his crown to his rival, Frederick II. It completely wrecked John's plans to recover the lost Angevin provinces and so disenchanted the English barons with him that they revolted and compelled him to grant them the *Magna Carta* in 1215. Above all, it established Philip's reputation and the power of the French monarchy over a united country.

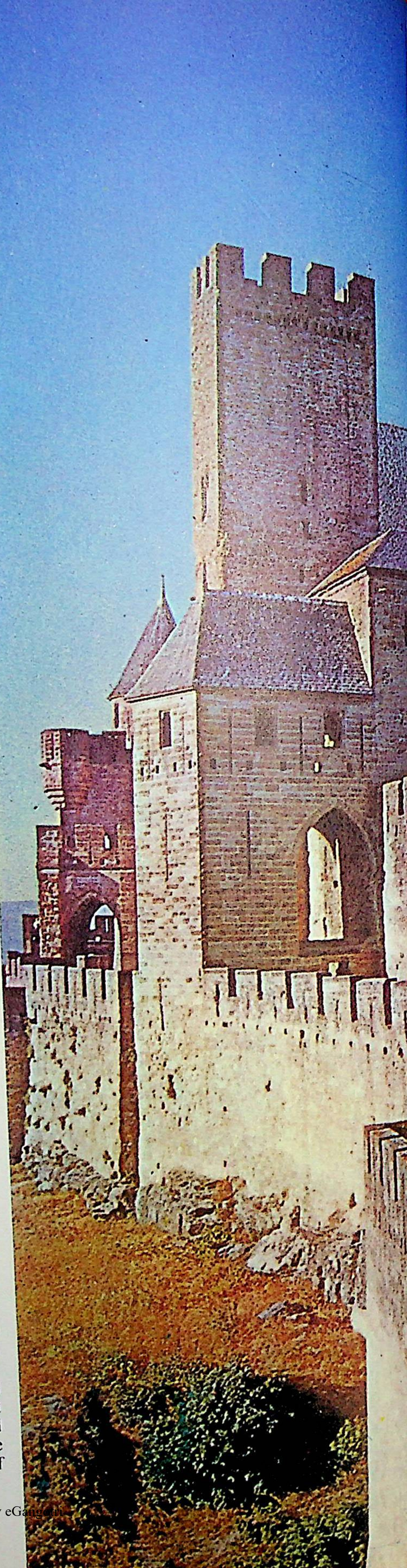
On his return from the battle, Philip and his army were accorded a triumphal reception by every town and city through which he passed. The streets were strewn with flowers and branches, while carpets and silks were hung from the windows of the houses. In the countryside, where the peasants were getting in the harvest, they left their labours in the fields and lined the roadside to gaze at the Count of Flanders, captive and chained, being conveyed in a litter drawn by two iron-grey horses. In Paris, the citizens and university students maintained their celebrations night and day for a week.

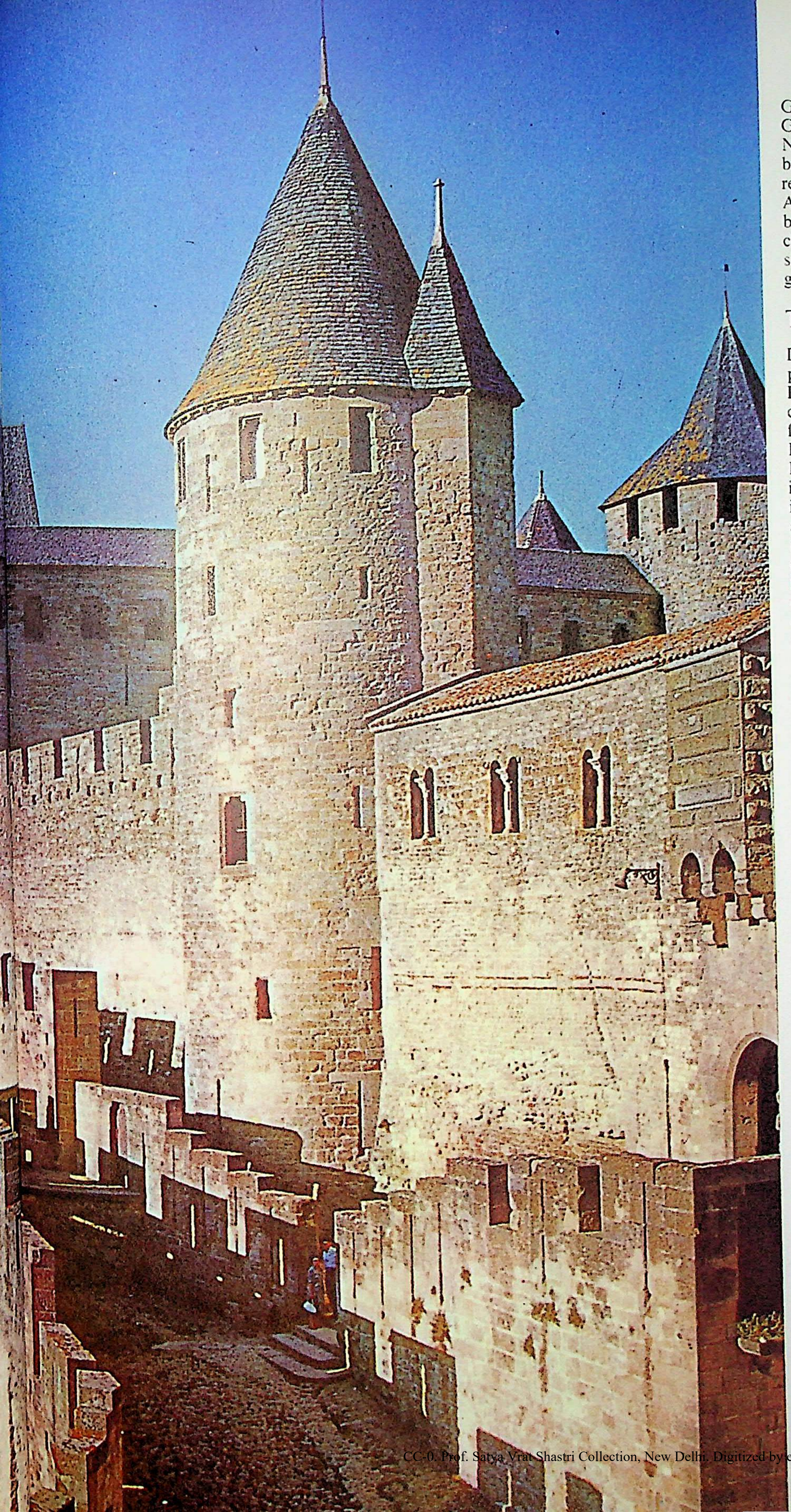
The kingdom of the Franks restored

A contemporary writer has recorded that when Philip Augustus was still a youth of seventeen, a French baron asked him one day what he was thinking about. He answered that he was wondering if the time would come when God allowed him to restore the kingdom of the Franks to the great glory it had formerly enjoyed under the rule of Charlemagne.

Within France, Philip set out to achieve this aim by asserting his rights and authority under the feudal system. He insisted that even the greatest noblemen must respect the jurisdiction of the royal council and that its members should be present at its meetings whenever summoned by him. He was also able to introduce innovations, the most important of these was that sharers in a divided inheritance should each hold directly from the crown, so that, for instance, the Count of Blois was the vassal of the king and not of his kinsman, the Count of Champagne. At the same time, he supported the towns against the claims of the nobility, selling them charters which granted them rights of local government. With the money he obtained this way, he could hire professional mercenary soldiers to form a royal army.

The building up of a strong, united France was accompanied by an important revival of French cultural activity and influence. Nowhere was this displayed more spectacularly than in the development of





Gothic art. This was the age when the great Gothic cathedrals were built in France. Notre Dame in Paris and Chartres were both substantially finished during Philip's reign, while Reims was begun in 1211 and Amiens in 1220. With their tall naves, wide bays and many large windows, these churches dominated their surroundings as a sign of Philip's success in reviving French greatness.

The Albigensian heresy

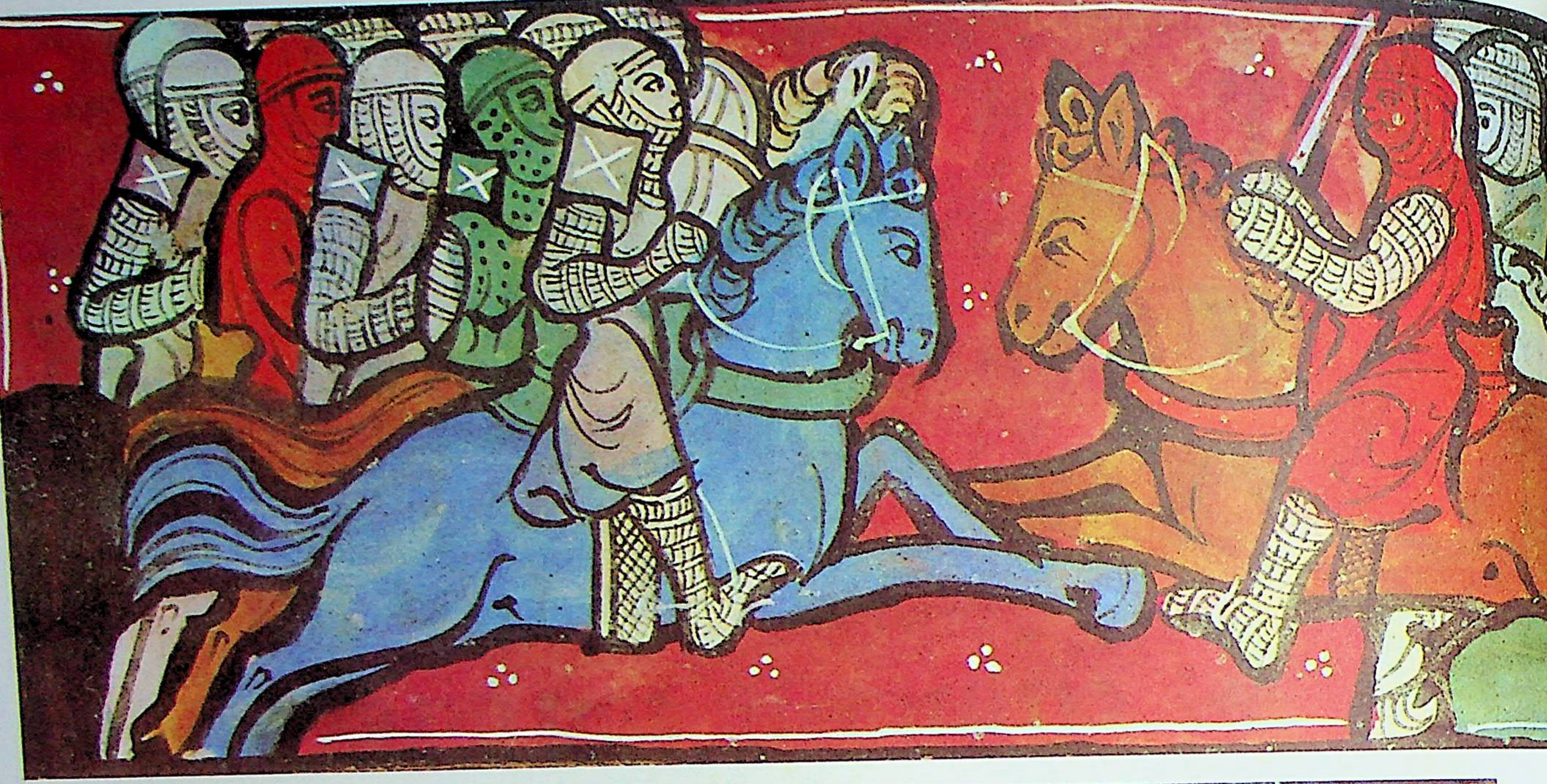
Despite the considerable extension of royal power and national unity achieved by Philip Augustus in France, one part of the country remained distinct in many ways from the rest. Provence, the south of France, had always been more Roman than Frankish and had evolved a civilisation of its own. Its towns were largely self-governing. Its serfs might obtain their freedom, and their sons could aspire to knighthood. Furthermore, it supported a class of troubadours, lyric poets who sang in the ancient Provençal language. They sang chiefly of chivalry and gallantry, which was condemned by the Church, however, as immoral and decadent.

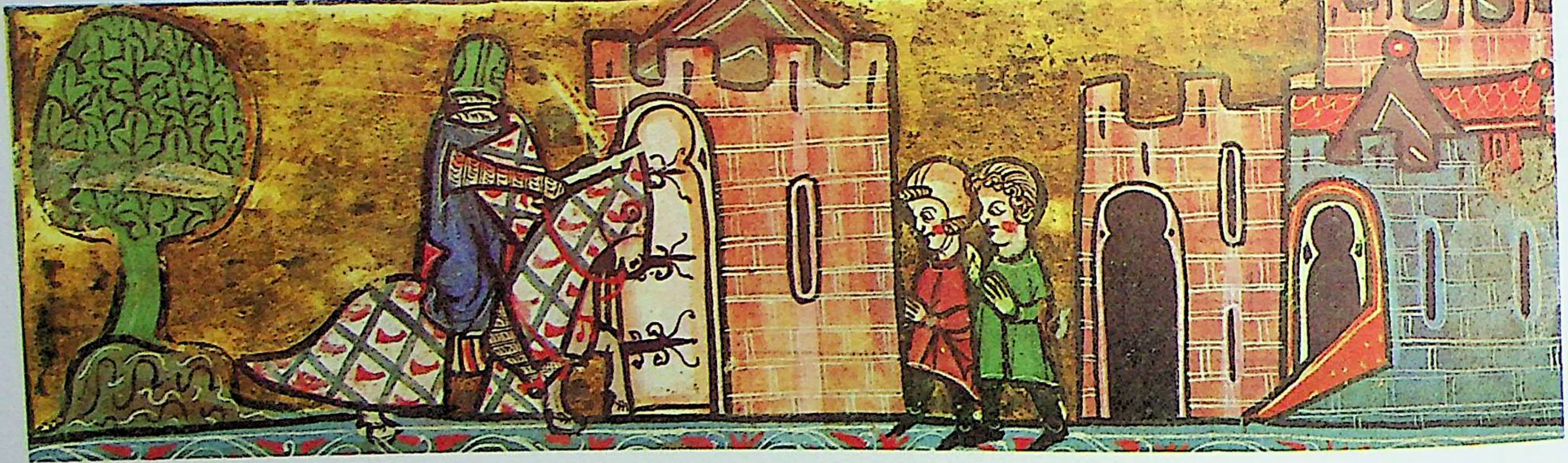
Early in the twelfth century, there appeared in this part of France a heretical Christian sect, the Albigenses, who were called after the town of Albi, some fifty miles from Toulouse.

The twelfth century was a great age of heresy. It made its appearance from the Pyrenees to the Danube. Many factors combined to bring this about. This was an age when towns were growing rapidly, commerce was spreading, wealth was increasing, and schools and universities were becoming more numerous. There was much lay resentment of clerical privileges and abuses. The Hildebrandine reformers had secured independence for the Church and made the clergy into a disciplined class, but they had not been able to improve their quality or prevent them being corrupted by power. As merchants became wealthier, they became more educated and increasingly critical of the Church, finding ready hearers among the working classes of the expanding towns.

Such an atmosphere encouraged the spread of opinions contrary to the orthodox

Far left: Philip Augustus's charter for the town of Tournai. He upheld the rights of townspeople against the nobility, obtaining from the towns in return money and soldiers. (Musée de l'Histoire de France, Paris.)
Left: the walls of Carcassonne, one of the places which were fortified against the Albigensian heretics.





doctrines of the medieval Church. The ideas of the heretics took various forms, and what is known of them cannot be taken as completely trustworthy as it comes mainly from their enemies.

The Albigensians seem, however, to be the most radical, ascetic and universal of all the groups of heretics. In other parts of Europe they were commonly known as the Cathari. The central belief of these heretics came from the Manichaeism which had challenged Christianity in the fourth century.

This was based on the conflict of light and darkness or God and matter, and it held that God had created only the world of the spirit, which was eternal, while Satan had created the corruptible material world. These beliefs gave the Cathari their name, which comes from the Greek word for 'pure'. The Cathari taught the need to live pure and apart from material things. They practised an extreme asceticism and rejected baptism and the other sacraments which made contact with material things.

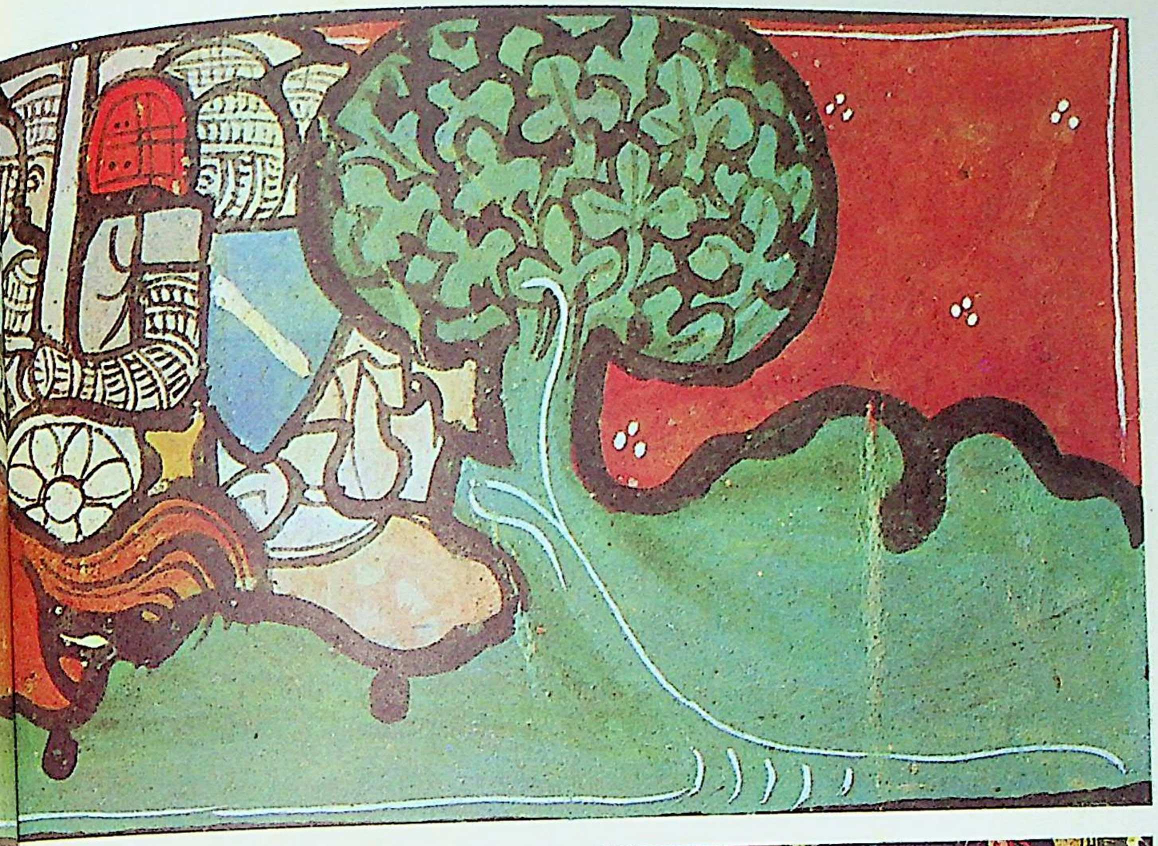
The Albigenses became the most powerful of the Cathari. They spread among all classes in the towns of southern France, where the growth of population had outstripped the Church's parochial organisation. The austerity of the lives of the devoted Albigensian missionaries contrasted with the laxity of many of the clergy, and the people of Provence came to share their bitter hatred of the Church. Moreover, they found a princely protector, Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, whose troubadours called him 'the greatest count on earth' and the equal of emperors and kings.

'Slay them all . . .'

At first Pope Innocent III tried to convert the Albigenses. He sent Cistercian monks as missionaries among them and encouraged a Spaniard, St Dominic, to undertake a preaching tour of the country in 1205; but such efforts were unsuccessful. The crisis came in 1208 when the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered at a crossing of the Rhone near St Gilles. Count Raymond, suspected of complicity in the deed, was excommunicated, but remained obdurate.

This event made Innocent decide upon a crusade against the Albigenses. He called upon Philip Augustus to confiscate the lands of the count as a heretic, but the king would not be deflected from his struggle with England and her allies. 'I have at my side', he wrote to the pope, 'two great and terrible lions, the Emperor Otto and King John; therefore, I am unable to leave my domain.' He gave permission, however, for the French barons to join such a crusade.

Many barons of northern France were very ready to undertake such a holy war which would bring them a share of the wealth of Provence. A large force gathered at Lyons in 1209. Its leader was one of the best soldiers of the time, Count Simon de



Montfort, the father of the Simon de Montfort who was to be so important in England during Henry III's reign. The campaign opened with the storming of the city of Béziers and the massacre of its inhabitants. 'Slay them all; God will know his own', ordered the legate, Arnold-Amalric. Carcassonne surrendered after a brief siege; Narbonne and other places were terrorised into immediate surrender. Some of the greater barons now returned home, but Simon de Montfort and the lesser barons were determined to dispossess the southern nobility and take their lands. They won a decisive victory at Muret in 1213.

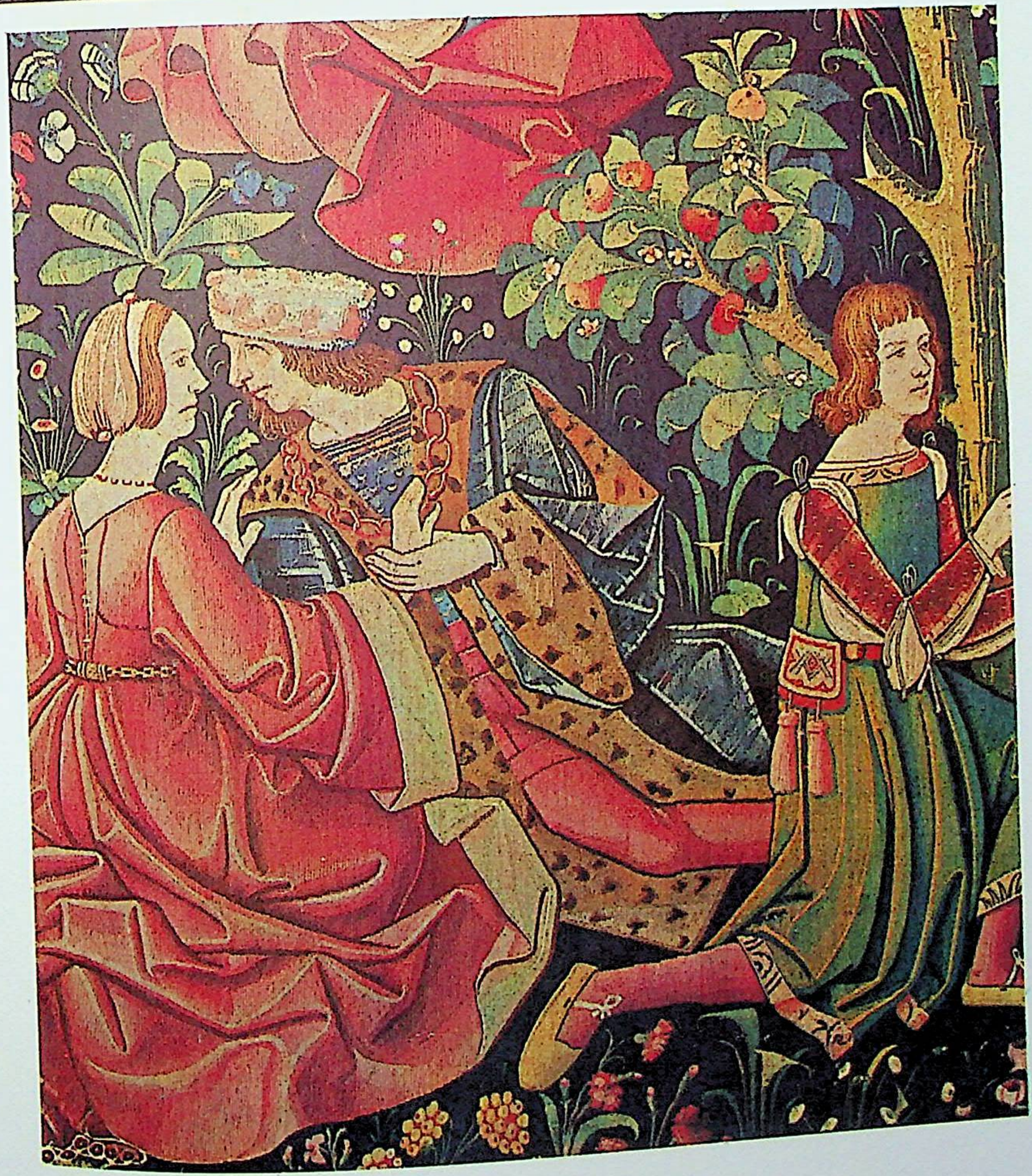
Frenchmen and friars

After the death of Innocent III in 1216, the campaign became a war to incorporate Provence into France. Simon de Montfort was killed while besieging Toulouse in 1218. His young son, Amaury, made no headway against the continued resistance of the country. The new pope, Honorius III, secured the intervention of Philip Augustus, who perpetrated a ruthless massacre at Marmande, but could not take Toulouse and returned northwards. He died in 1223, and so did Raymond VI, count of Toulouse.

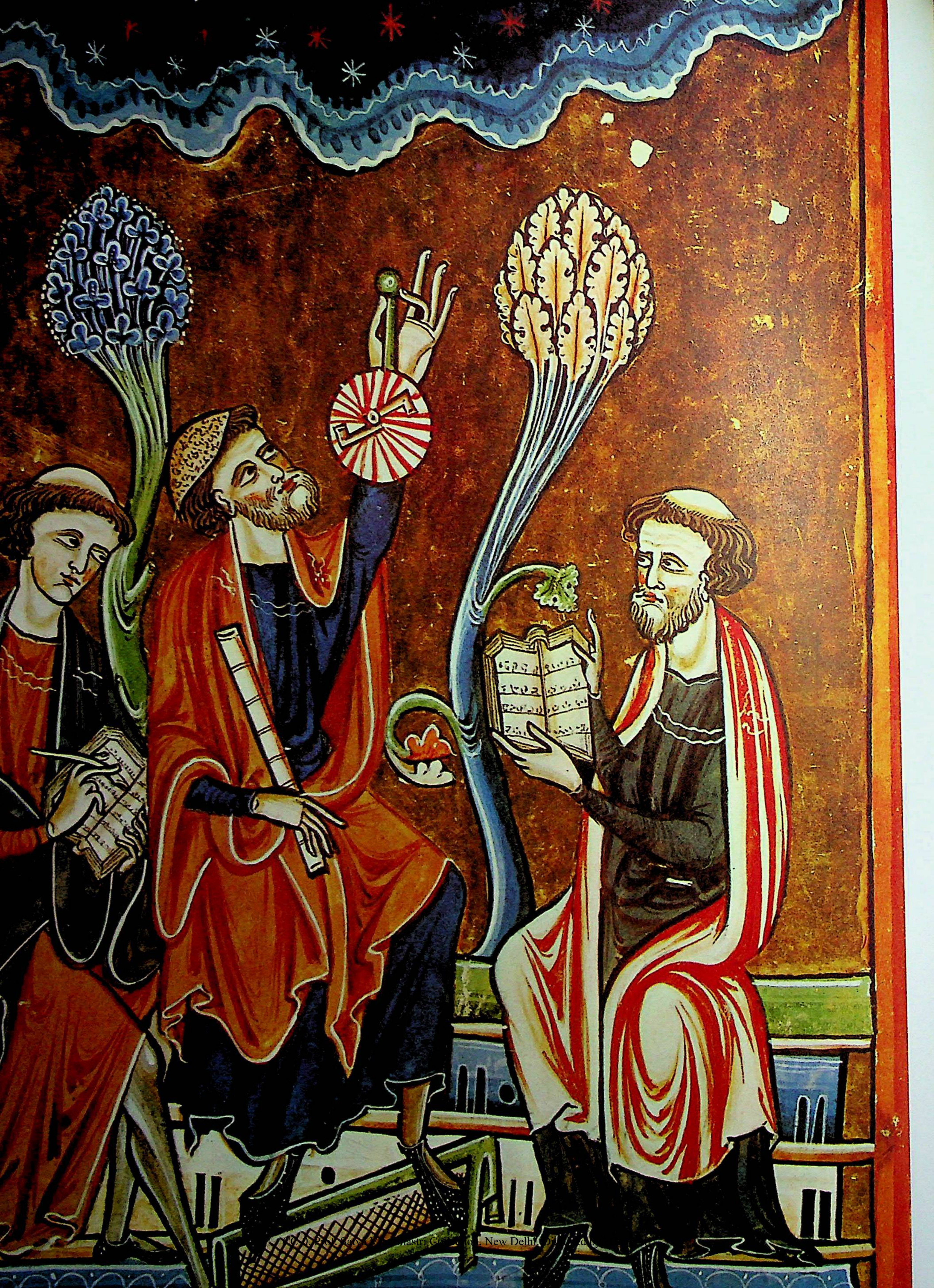
Amaury de Montfort left Provence, taking his father's body sewn up in the hide of an ox. The son of the dead Count of Toulouse, now Raymond VII, assumed the leadership of the resistance, but the new French king, Louis VIII, led an expedition southwards in 1226. He captured Avignon, only to die in the same year. Raymond VII joined the rebellious barons against the regent, Queen Blanche, and when they were defeated, he had to accept the Treaty of Paris of 1229, which incorporated Provence into France.

The French conquest of the country made possible the final extinction of the Albigensian heresy. In 1214 Simon de Montfort had granted the castle of Casseneuil to St Dominic, who used it to found a special order for the conversion of the Albigenses. This became the order of Dominican friars, men who took the monastic vows but spent their lives working among the people instead of remaining within a monastery.

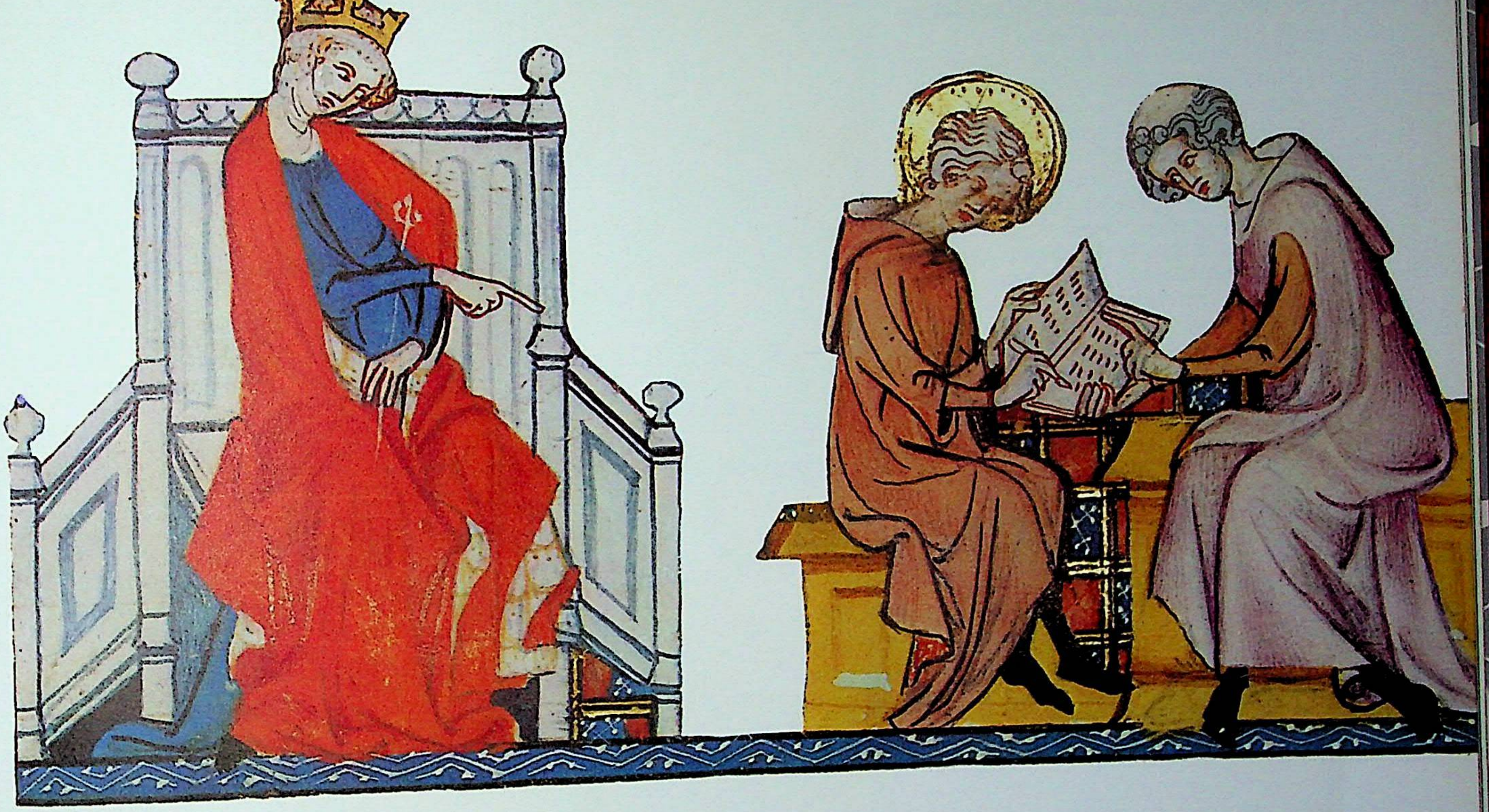
When Pope Gregory IX established the Roman Inquisition in 1232 as an organisation with special courts to seek out and try heretics, he staffed it mainly with Dominican friars, and the next year he charged it with the final extirpation of the Albigenses. The heretics were ruthlessly hunted down,



Top: knights in combat. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Far left: knight entering a castle. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Left: a scene of courtly love. Detail from a fifteenth-century tapestry. (Musée de Cluny.)



Below: Louis VIII's wife, Blanche of Castile, was the daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castile and Eleanor of England. While regent after her husband's death in 1226, she acquired territory which brought the French kingdom to the Mediterranean for the first time. Able and cultured (on the left are the wise men of her court), she gave particular care to the education of her son, the future St Louis. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



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By the close of the century, no trace was left of the heresy, and the great new fortified Cathedral of Albi and the University of Toulouse marked the triumph of the crusade. The country was reduced to orthodoxy, but the distinctive Provençal culture had been destroyed.

A remarkable queen

When Louis VIII died in 1226 at the age of forty, his son, Louis IX, was only eleven years old. Until he came of age in 1234, his mother, Queen Blanche, the daughter of King Alfonso the Good of Castile and granddaughter of Henry II of England, acted as regent of France. She was a truly formidable woman, determined to preserve unimpaired for her son the power of the crown.

Although the hereditary right of succession to the throne was now recognised in France, the minority gave the great feudal barons an opportunity to assert their power. They declared that the kingdom was 'too important to be governed by a woman' and nicknamed her the 'she-wolf'. They supposed they were dealing with a weak woman, but they misjudged her outstanding qualities. They found that they were faced by one who possessed great coolness and will-power, and their hopes of dominating her were in vain.

She had the members of the royal council and the people of the towns on her side, and she asserted herself successfully against the barons, sometimes by diplomacy and sometimes by force of arms. There were several feudal revolts, but none seriously threatened the position of the monarchy. When the king's majority was proclaimed, she still held the greatest influence over her son and the direction of affairs of state. The monarchy was so strong that Louis could go crusading in 1248 and only returned when she died in 1254.

A royal saint

Queen Blanche had brought up her son austerely and piously. His education had been almost monastic and very different from that of other princes of his time. Yet he became as King of France the symbol of medieval monarchy at its best and after his death was canonised with the universal approbation of western Christendom.

He had inherited great gifts of character from his family—the Castilian pride and intelligence of his mother, the courage of his father and the political sagacity of his grandfather, Philip Augustus. Everyone who met him was impressed by his 'angel face' and the clearness of his bright blue eyes. Possessed of charm, integrity and cheerfulness in equal proportions, he was direct and loyal and hated the slightest suggestion of hypocrisy.

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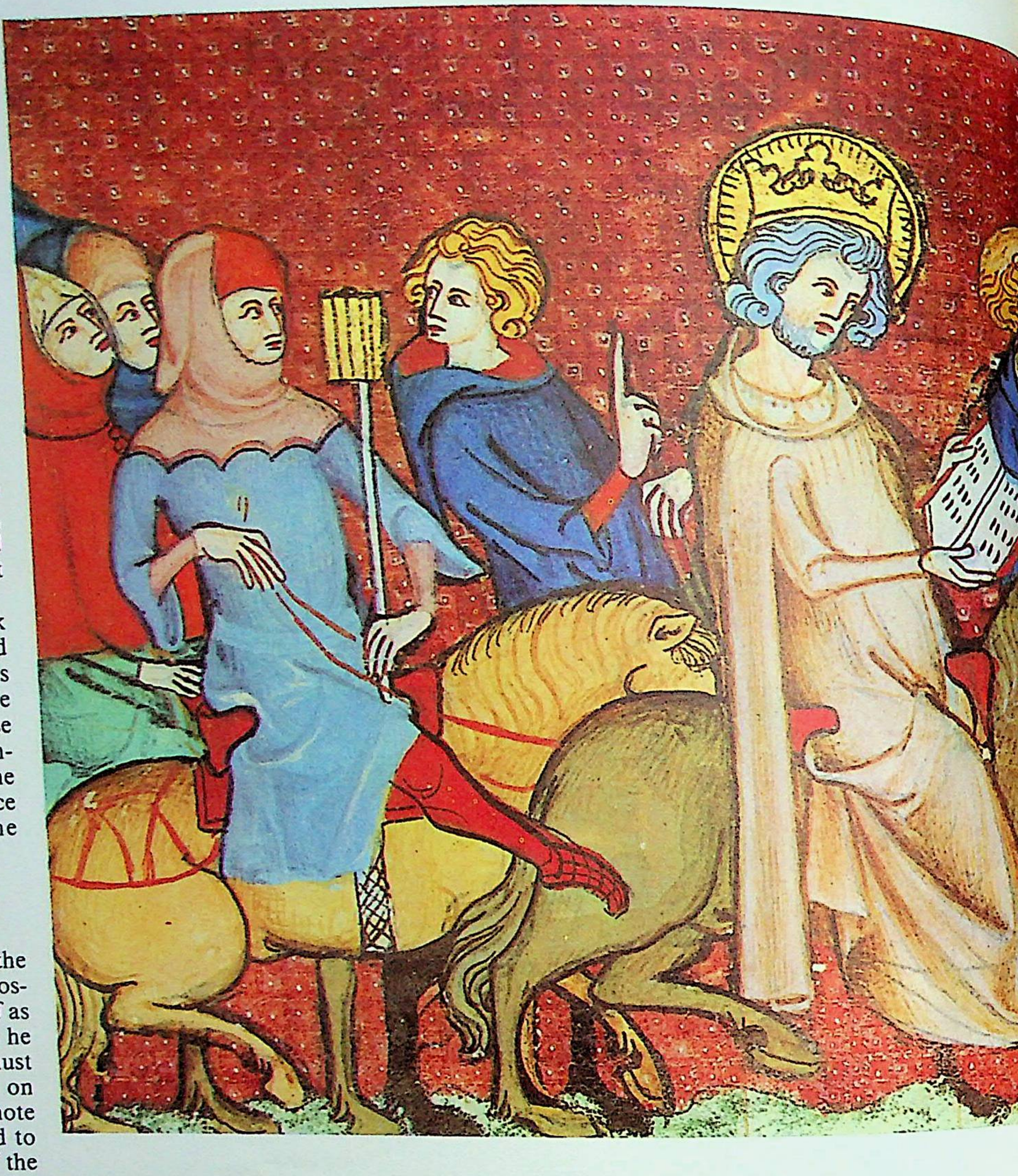
Yet, as was to expected from the outlook of the times, St Louis also displayed a hard side to his religion. He was inflexible towards all heretics, sceptics and blasphemers. He once ordered the burning of the lip and nose of an important citizen of Paris as a punishment for blasphemy. And he supported the organisation of the Inquisition in France and its merciless persecution of the Albigenses.



Firm and just rule

St Louis was determined to exercise the authority which he believed he rightly possessed as king of France. He saw himself as a feudal monarch with privileges which he must maintain and duties which he must exercise. He also saw himself as placed on the throne by the will of God to promote justice and peace among his people and to uphold the cause of the Church and of the true faith. He was able to secure respect for his authority, not by force or by the exercise of administrative gifts, but essentially because of the effect of his sense of justice, the influence of his character and his unquestionable sincerity.

It was, indeed, in the sphere of justice that St Louis most asserted himself. Like Henry II in England, he wished to extend royal justice and take away cases from the courts of the barons. It had long been possible in theory for people to appeal to the king against judgements imposed by these courts, but in practice delays and difficulties had generally prevented this being done.

To take royal justice to the people, St Louis appointed seneschals or magistrates to represent him in the provinces of France, to hear cases and to see that royal decrees were observed. Since royal justice under St Louis was known to be fair, people willingly accepted it.

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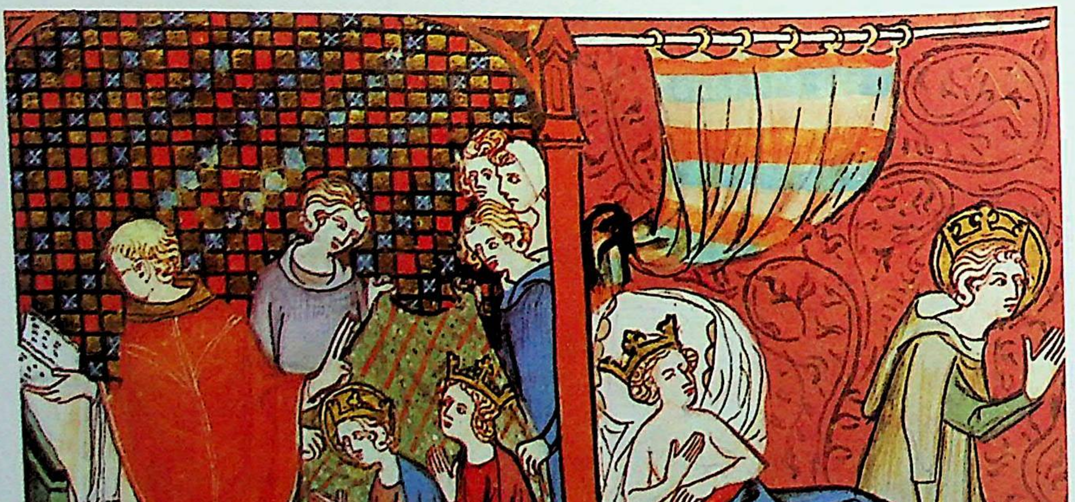
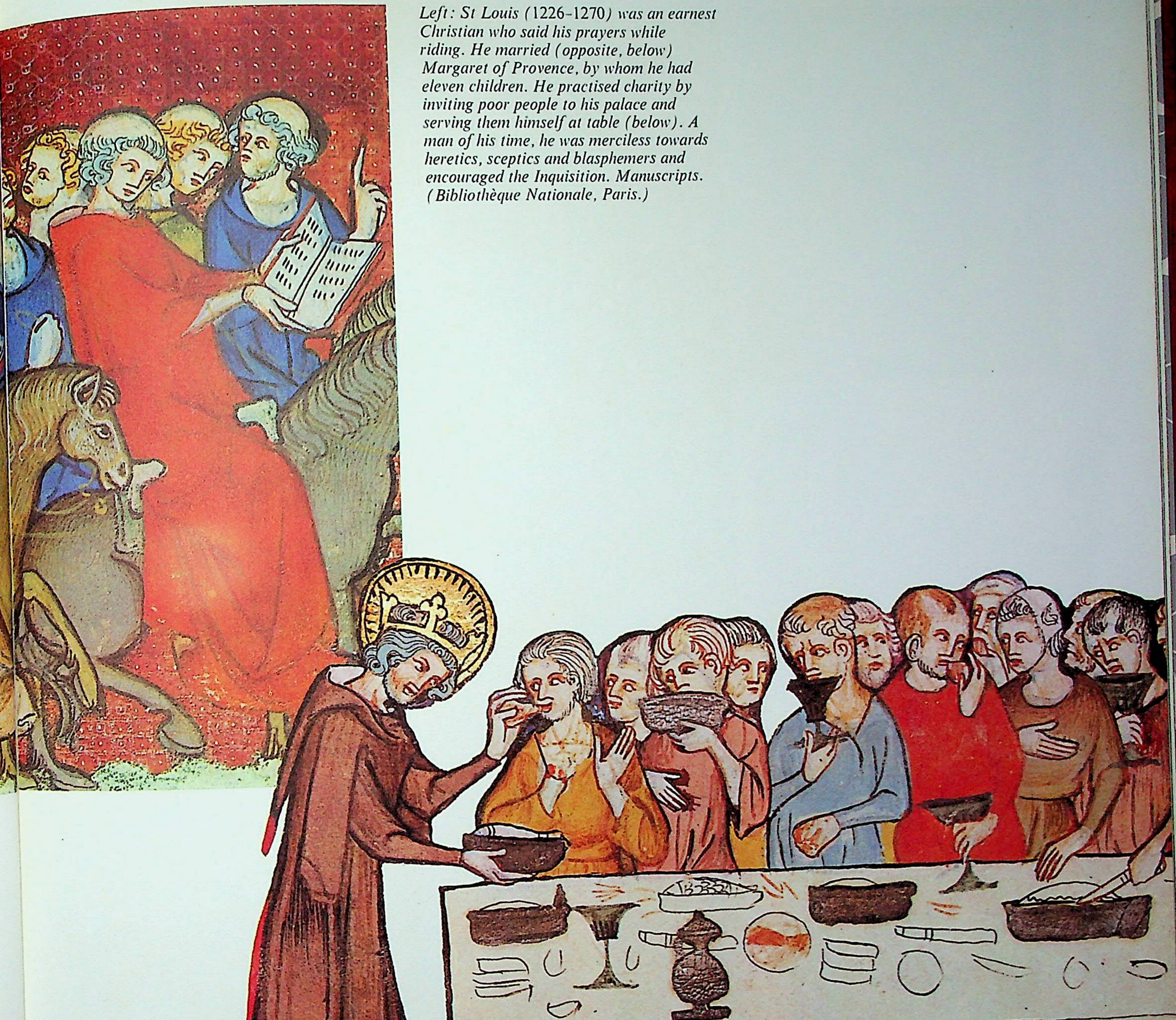
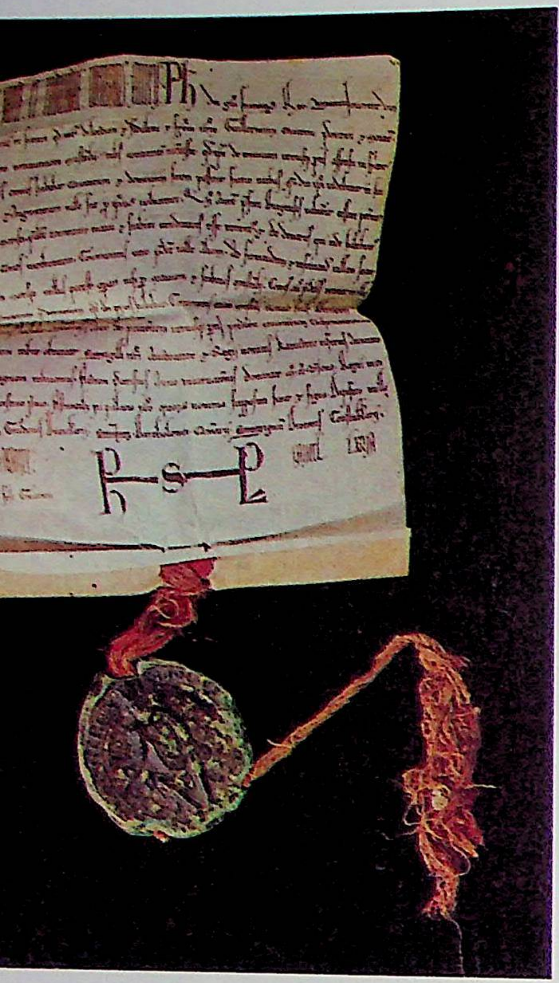


Left: St Louis (1226-1270) was an earnest Christian who said his prayers while riding. He married (opposite, below) Margaret of Provence, by whom he had eleven children. He practised charity by inviting poor people to his palace and serving them himself at table (below). A man of his time, he was merciless towards heretics, sceptics and blasphemers and encouraged the Inquisition. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





The triumph of Philip Augustus

Bouvines was one of the decisive battles of the world. It placed Flanders under French control for about a century. It so weakened the position of the Emperor Otto IV in Germany that he had to yield his crown to his rival, Frederick II. It completely wrecked John's plans to recover the lost Angevin provinces and so disenchanted the English barons with him that they revolted and compelled him to grant them the *Magna Carta* in 1215. Above all, it established Philip's reputation and the power of the French monarchy over a united country.

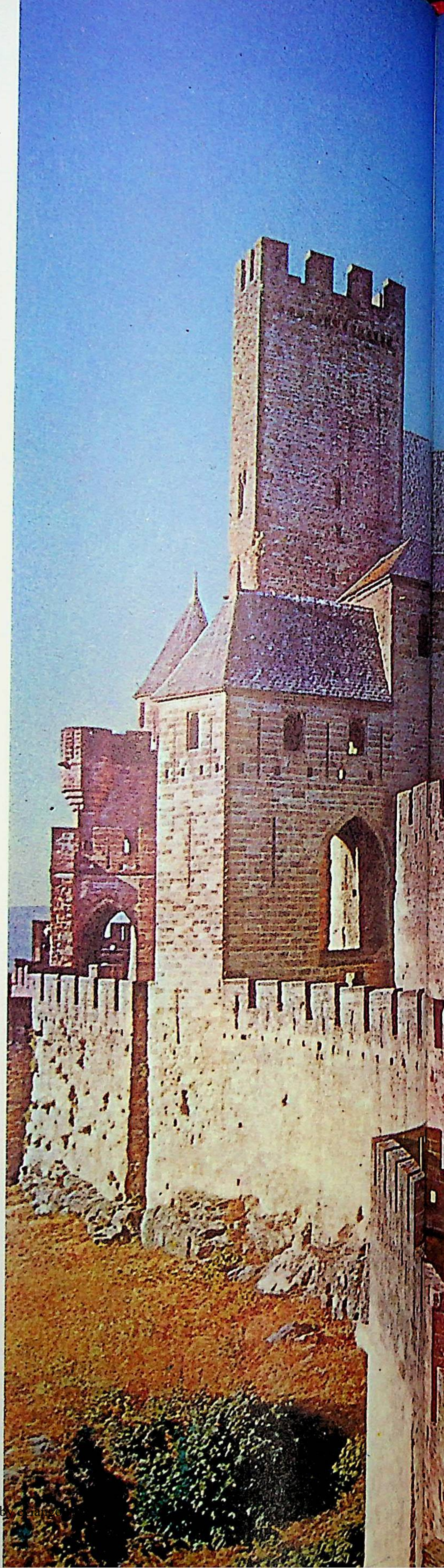
On his return from the battle, Philip and his army were accorded a triumphal reception by every town and city through which he passed. The streets were strewn with flowers and branches, while carpets and silks were hung from the windows of the houses. In the countryside, where the peasants were getting in the harvest, they left their labours in the fields and lined the roadside to gaze at the Count of Flanders, captive and chained, being conveyed in a litter drawn by two iron-grey horses. In Paris, the citizens and university students maintained their celebrations night and day for a week.

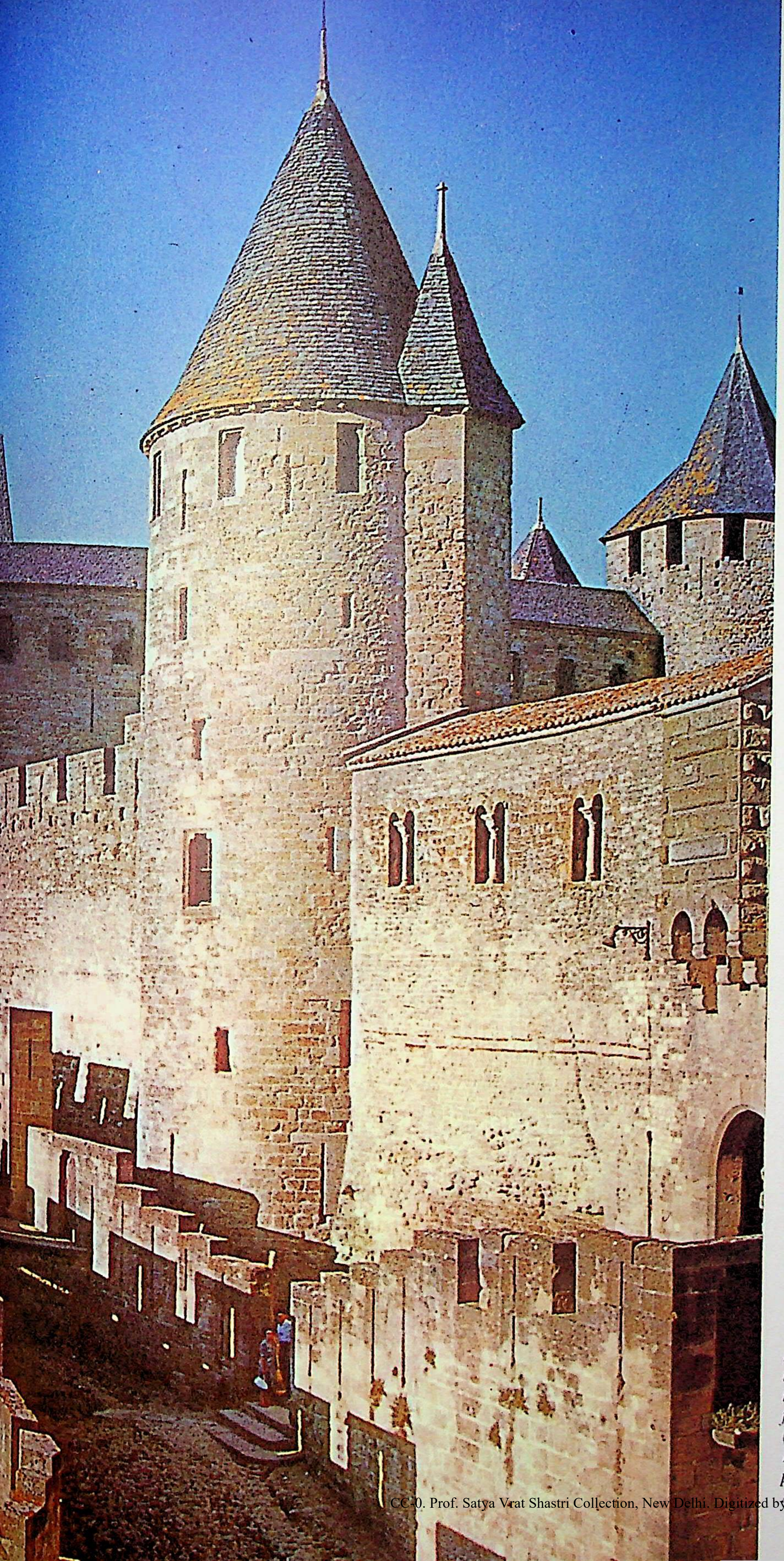
The kingdom of the Franks restored

A contemporary writer has recorded that when Philip Augustus was still a youth of seventeen, a French baron asked him one day what he was thinking about. He answered that he was wondering if the time would come when God allowed him to restore the kingdom of the Franks to the great glory it had formerly enjoyed under the rule of Charlemagne.

Within France, Philip set out to achieve this aim by asserting his rights and authority under the feudal system. He insisted that even the greatest noblemen must respect the jurisdiction of the royal council and that its members should be present at its meetings whenever summoned by him. He was also able to introduce innovations, the most important of these was that sharers in a divided inheritance should each hold directly from the crown, so that, for instance, the Count of Blois was the vassal of the king and not of his kinsman, the Count of Champagne. At the same time, he supported the towns against the claims of the nobility, selling them charters which granted them rights of local government. With the money he obtained this way, he could hire professional mercenary soldiers to form a royal army.

The building up of a strong, united France was accompanied by an important revival of French cultural activity and influence. Nowhere was this displayed more spectacularly than in the development of





Gothic art. This was the age when the great Gothic cathedrals were built in France. Notre Dame in Paris and Chartres were both substantially finished during Philip's reign, while Reims was begun in 1211 and Amiens in 1220. With their tall naves, wide bays and many large windows, these churches dominated their surroundings as a sign of Philip's success in reviving French greatness.

The Albigensian heresy

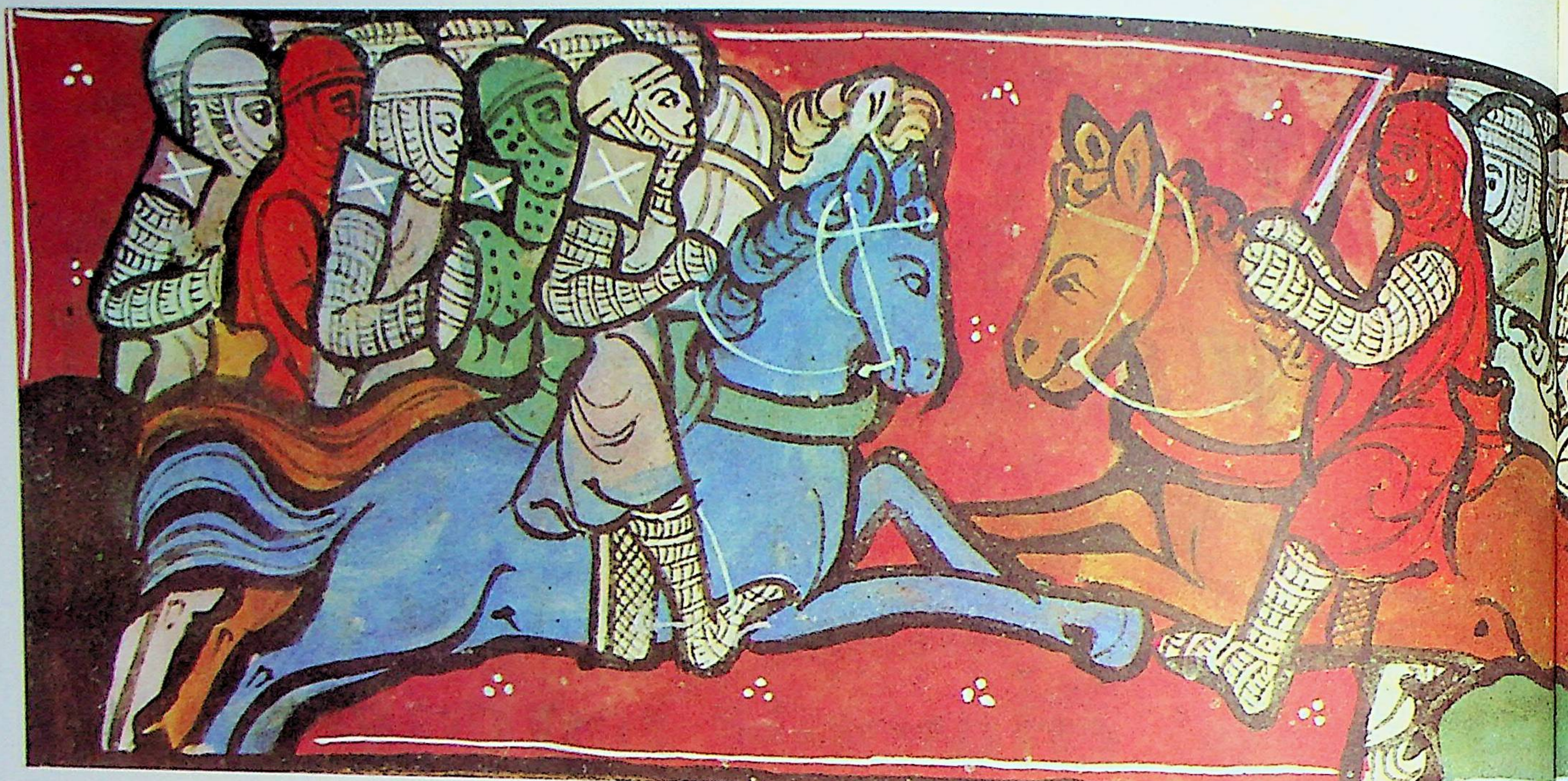
Despite the considerable extension of royal power and national unity achieved by Philip Augustus in France, one part of the country remained distinct in many ways from the rest. Provence, the south of France, had always been more Roman than Frankish and had evolved a civilisation of its own. Its towns were largely self-governing. Its serfs might obtain their freedom, and their sons could aspire to knighthood. Furthermore, it supported a class of troubadours, lyric poets who sang in the ancient Provençal language. They sang chiefly of chivalry and gallantry, which was condemned by the Church, however, as immoral and decadent.

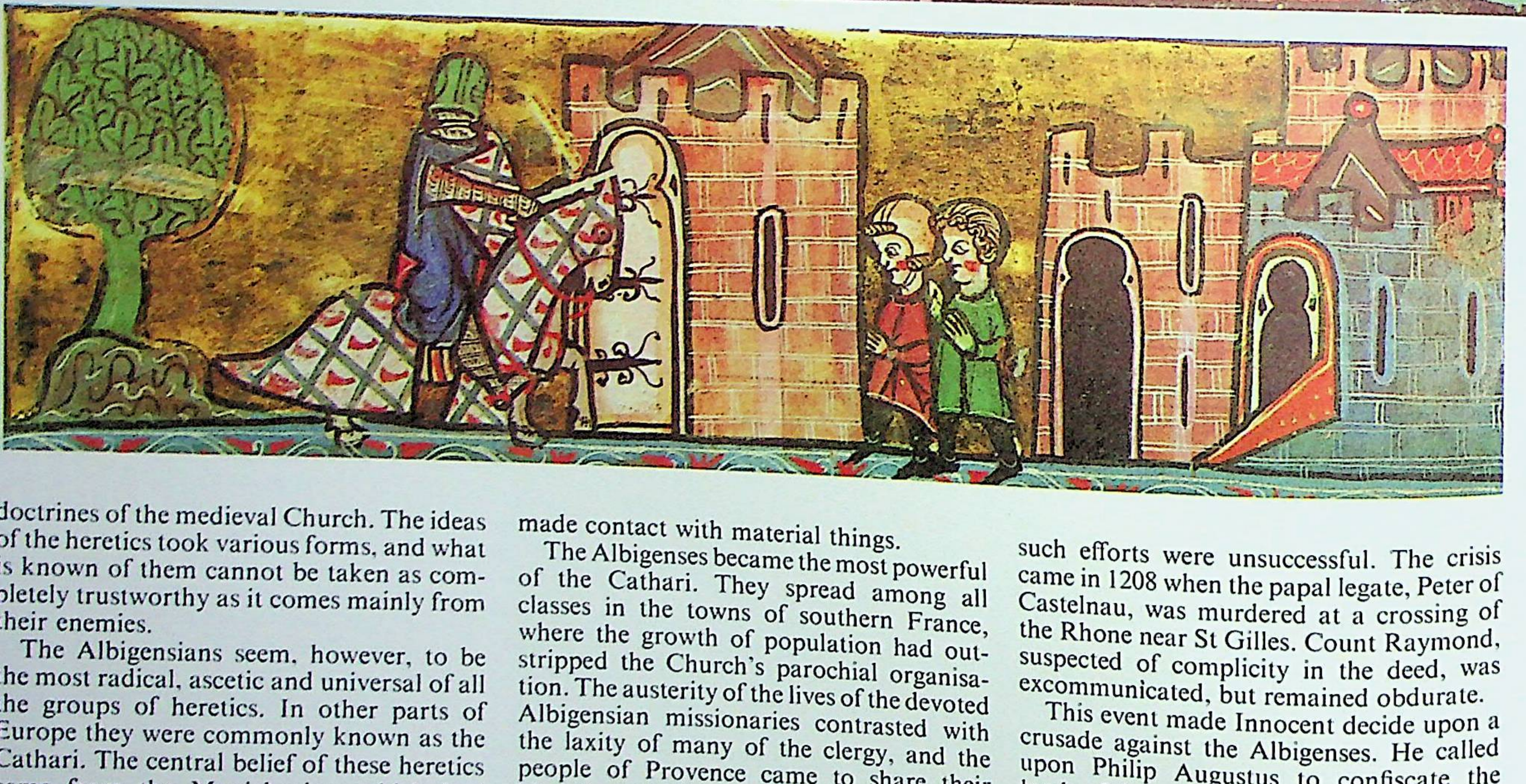
Early in the twelfth century, there appeared in this part of France a heretical Christian sect, the Albigenses, who were called after the town of Albi, some fifty miles from Toulouse.

The twelfth century was a great age of heresy. It made its appearance from the Pyrenees to the Danube. Many factors combined to bring this about. This was an age when towns were growing rapidly, commerce was spreading, wealth was increasing, and schools and universities were becoming more numerous. There was much lay resentment of clerical privileges and abuses. The Hildebrandine reformers had secured independence for the Church and made the clergy into a disciplined class, but they had not been able to improve their quality or prevent them being corrupted by power. As merchants became wealthier, they became more educated and increasingly critical of the Church, finding ready hearers among the working classes of the expanding towns.

Such an atmosphere encouraged the spread of opinions contrary to the orthodox

Far left: Philip Augustus's charter for the town of Tournai. He upheld the rights of townspeople against the nobility, obtaining from the towns in return money and soldiers. (Musée de l'Histoire de France, Paris.)
Left: the walls of Carcassonne, one of the places which were fortified against the Albigensian heretics.





doctrines of the medieval Church. The ideas of the heretics took various forms, and what is known of them cannot be taken as completely trustworthy as it comes mainly from their enemies.

The Albigensians seem, however, to be the most radical, ascetic and universal of all the groups of heretics. In other parts of Europe they were commonly known as the Cathari. The central belief of these heretics came from the Manichaeism which had challenged Christianity in the fourth century.

This was based on the conflict of light and darkness or God and matter, and it held that God had created only the world of the spirit, which was eternal, while Satan had created the corruptible material world. These beliefs gave the Cathari their name, which comes from the Greek word for 'pure'. The Cathari taught the need to live pure and apart from material things. They practised an extreme asceticism and rejected baptism and the other sacraments which made contact with material things.

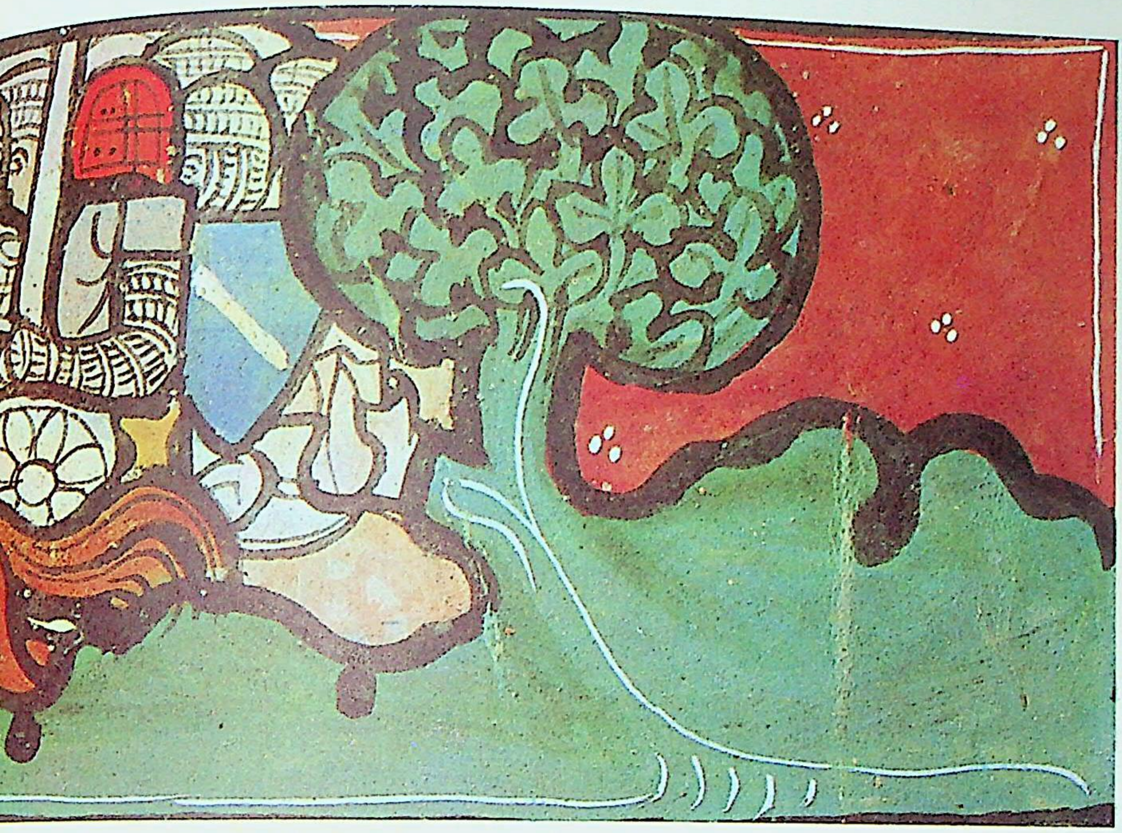
The Albigenses became the most powerful of the Cathari. They spread among all classes in the towns of southern France, where the growth of population had outstripped the Church's parochial organisation. The austerity of the lives of the devoted Albigensian missionaries contrasted with the laxity of many of the clergy, and the people of Provence came to share their bitter hatred of the Church. Moreover, they found a princely protector, Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, whose troubadours called him 'the greatest count on earth' and the equal of emperors and kings.

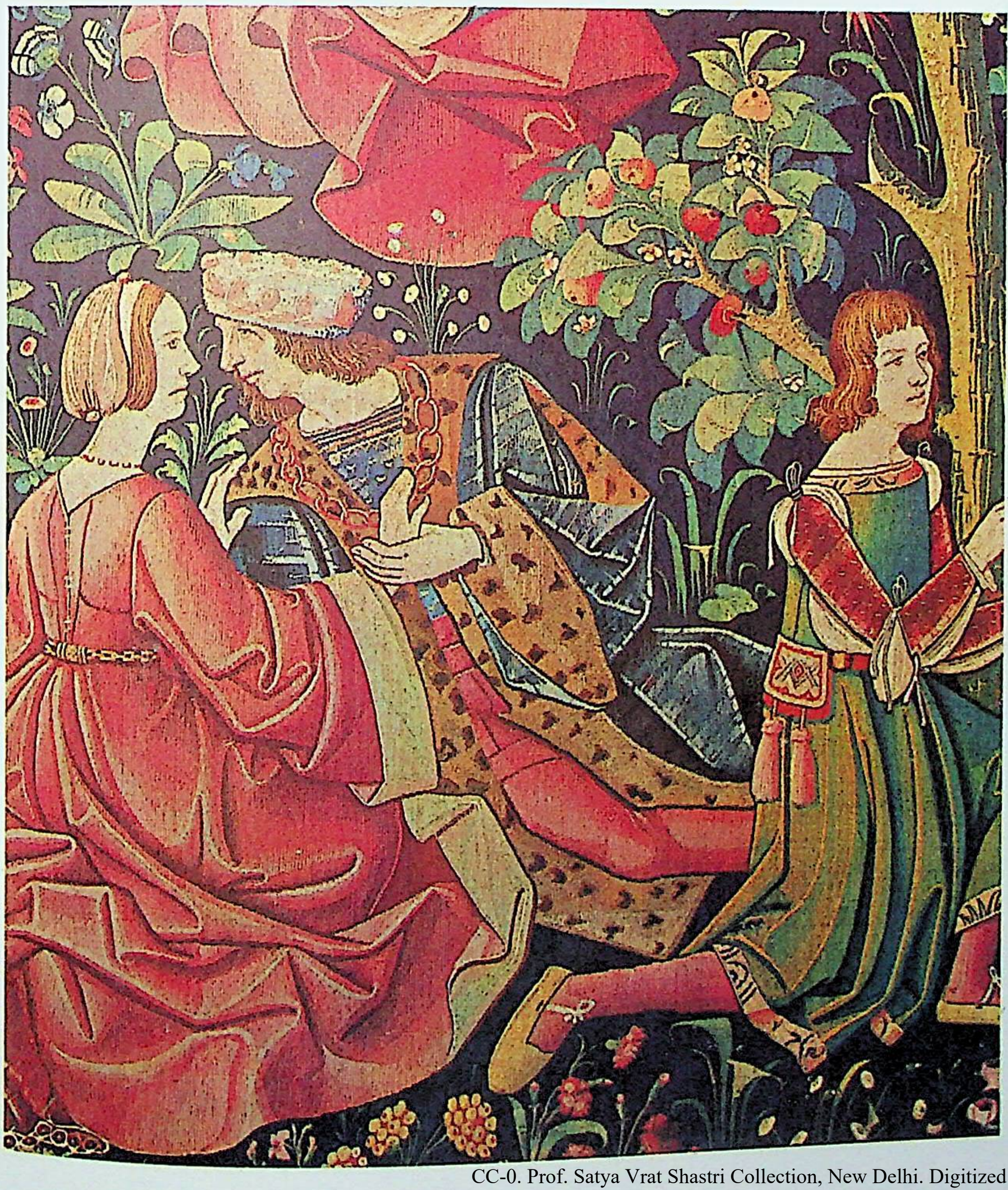
'Slay them all . . .'

At first Pope Innocent III tried to convert the Albigenses. He sent Cistercian monks as missionaries among them and encouraged a Spaniard, St Dominic, to undertake a preaching tour of the country in 1205; but such efforts were unsuccessful. The crisis came in 1208 when the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, was murdered at a crossing of the Rhone near St Gilles. Count Raymond, suspected of complicity in the deed, was excommunicated, but remained obdurate.

This event made Innocent decide upon a crusade against the Albigenses. He called upon Philip Augustus to confiscate the lands of the count as a heretic, but the king would not be deflected from his struggle with England and her allies. 'I have at my side', he wrote to the pope, 'two great and terrible lions, the Emperor Otto and King John; therefore, I am unable to leave my domain.' He gave permission, however, for the French barons to join such a crusade.

Many barons of northern France were very ready to undertake such a holy war which would bring them a share of the wealth of Provence. A large force gathered at Lyons in 1209. Its leader was one of the best soldiers of the time, Count Simon de





Montfort, the father of the Simon de Montfort who was to be so important in England during Henry III's reign. The campaign opened with the storming of the city of Béziers and the massacre of its inhabitants. 'Slay them all; God will know his own', ordered the legate, Arnold-Amalric. Carcassonne surrendered after a brief siege; Narbonne and other places were terrorised into immediate surrender. Some of the greater barons now returned home, but Simon de Montfort and the lesser barons were determined to dispossess the southern nobility and take their lands. They won a decisive victory at Muret in 1213.

Frenchmen and friars

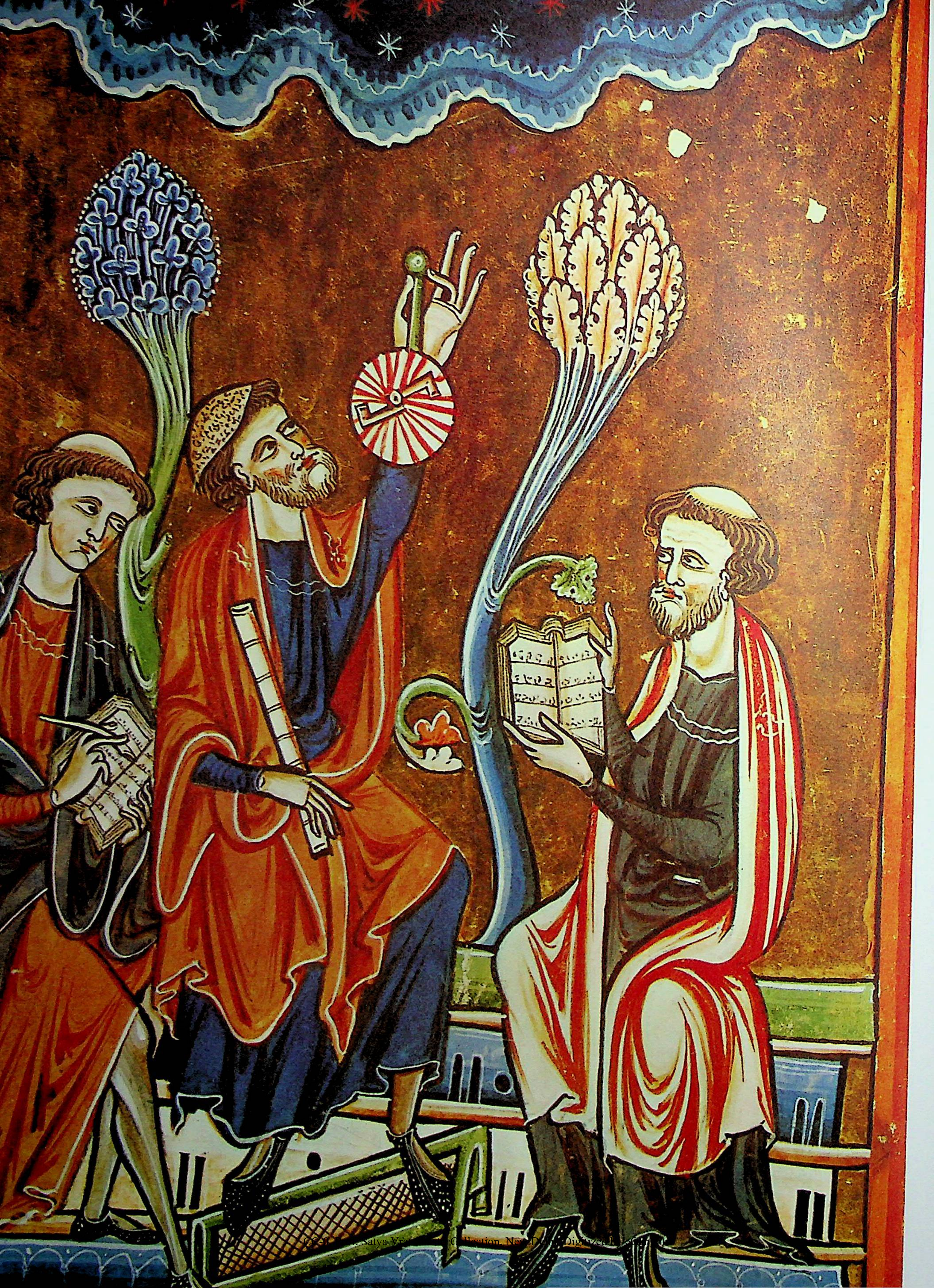
After the death of Innocent III in 1216, the campaign became a war to incorporate Provence into France. Simon de Montfort was killed while besieging Toulouse in 1218. His young son, Amaury, made no headway against the continued resistance of the country. The new pope, Honorius III, secured the intervention of Philip Augustus, who perpetrated a ruthless massacre at Marmande, but could not take Toulouse and returned northwards. He died in 1223, and so did Raymond VI, count of Toulouse.

Amaury de Montfort left Provence, taking his father's body sewn up in the hide of an ox. The son of the dead Count of Toulouse, now Raymond VII, assumed the leadership of the resistance, but the new French king, Louis VIII, led an expedition southwards in 1226. He captured Avignon, only to die in the same year. Raymond VII joined the rebellious barons against the regent, Queen Blanche, and when they were defeated, he had to accept the Treaty of Paris of 1229, which incorporated Provence into France.

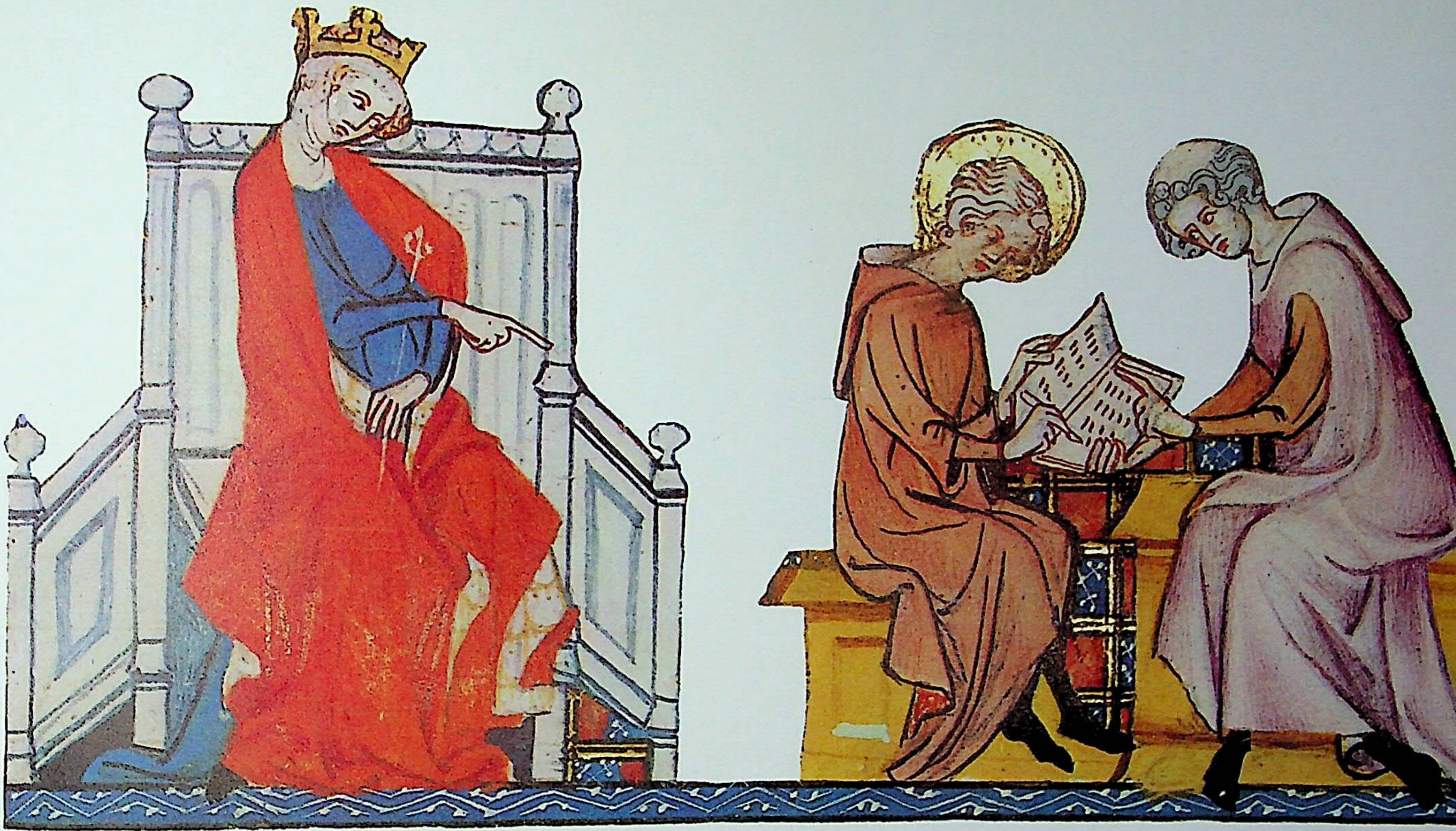
The French conquest of the country made possible the final extinction of the Albigensian heresy. In 1214 Simon de Montfort had granted the castle of Casseneuil to St Dominic, who used it to found a special order for the conversion of the Albigenses. This became the order of Dominican friars, men who took the monastic vows but spent their lives working among the people instead of remaining within a monastery.

When Pope Gregory IX established the Roman Inquisition in 1232 as an organisation with special courts to seek out and try heretics, he staffed it mainly with Dominican friars, and the next year he charged it with the final extirpation of the Albigenses. The heretics were ruthlessly hunted down,

Top: knights in combat. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Far left: knight entering a castle. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Left: a scene of courtly love. Detail from a fifteenth-century tapestry. (Musée de Cluny.)



Below: Louis VIII's wife, Blanche of Castile, was the daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castile and Eleanor of England. While regent after her husband's death in 1226, she acquired territory which brought the French kingdom to the Mediterranean for the first time. Able and cultured (on the left are the wise men of her court), she gave particular care to the education of her son, the future St Louis. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



brought to trial and burnt at the stake. The capture of the fortress of Montségur in 1244 deprived them of their last stronghold and brought their armed resistance to an end.

By the close of the century, no trace was left of the heresy, and the great new fortified Cathedral of Albi and the University of Toulouse marked the triumph of the crusade. The country was reduced to orthodoxy, but the distinctive Provençal culture had been destroyed.

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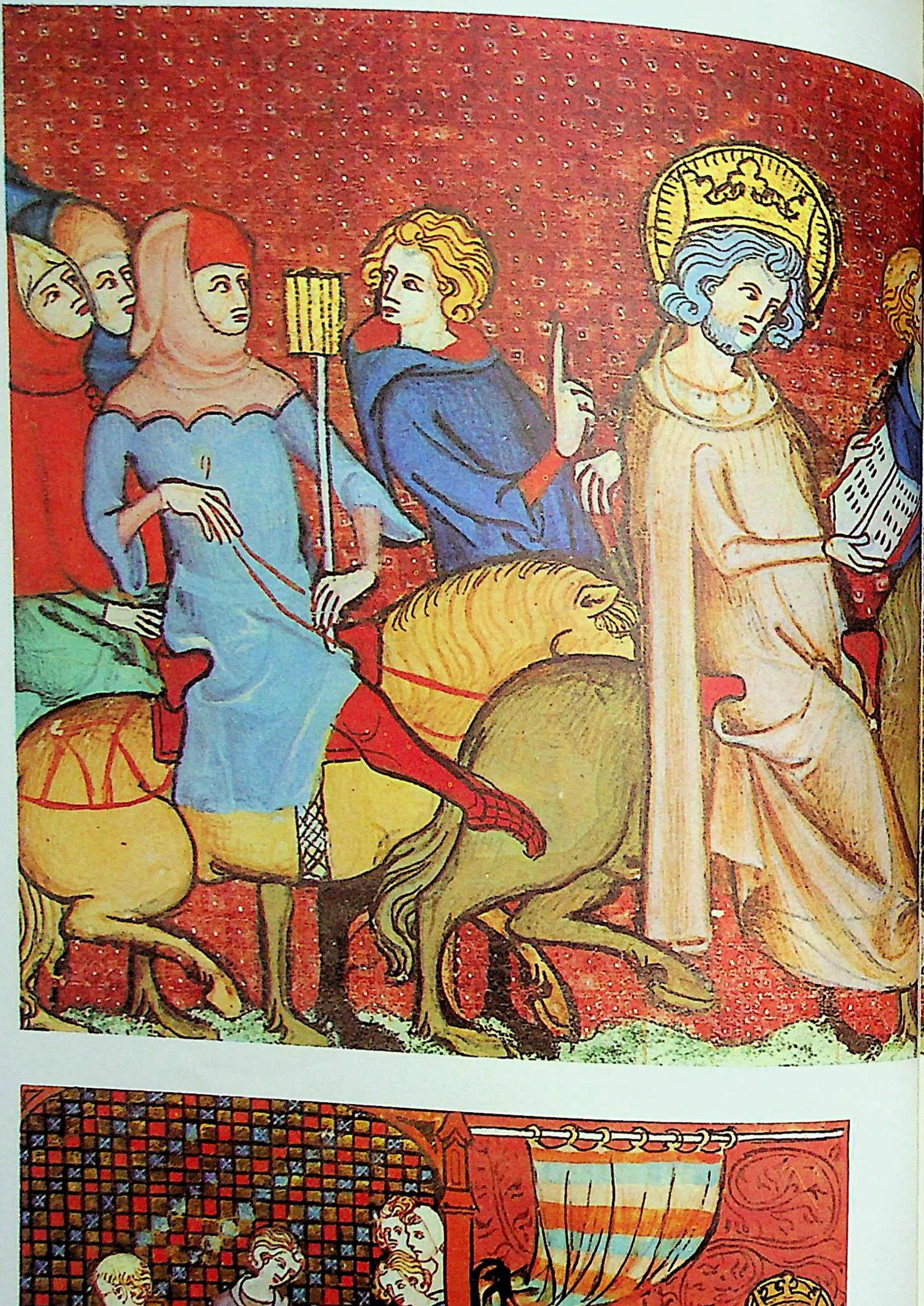
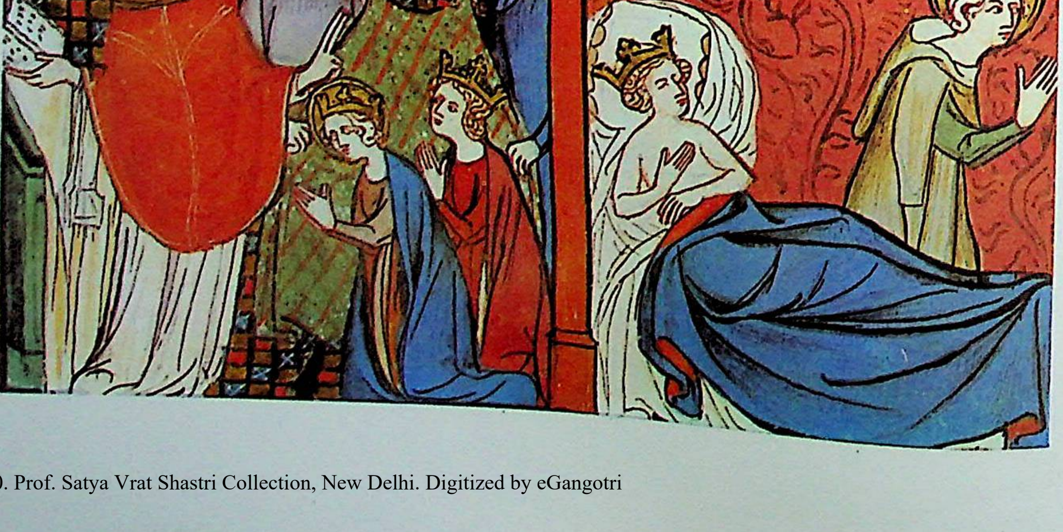
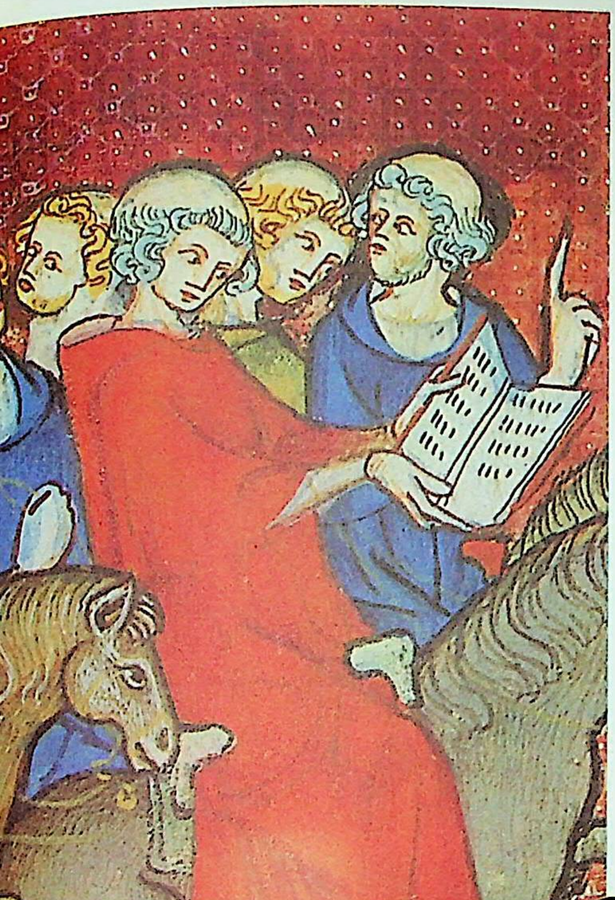
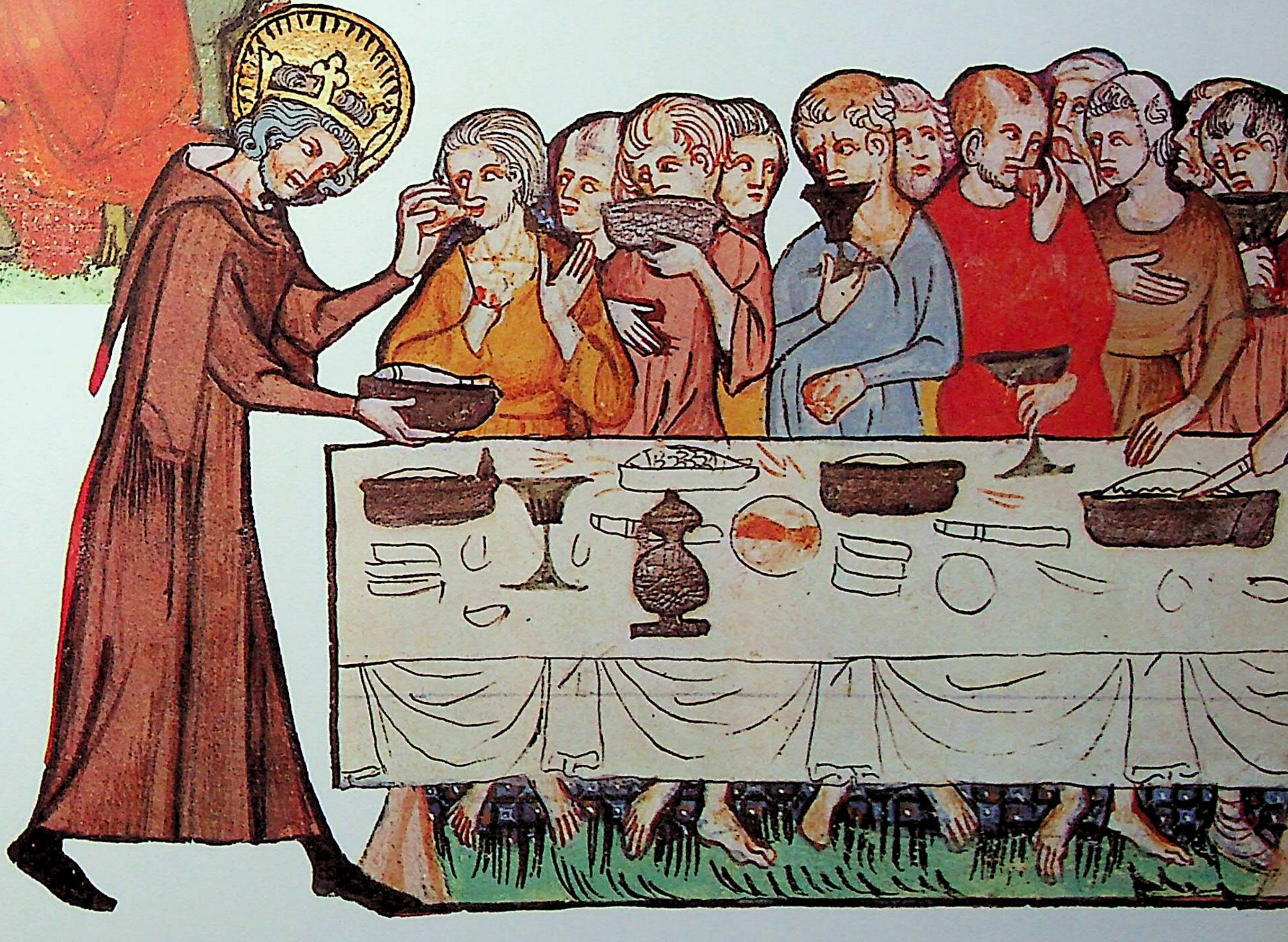
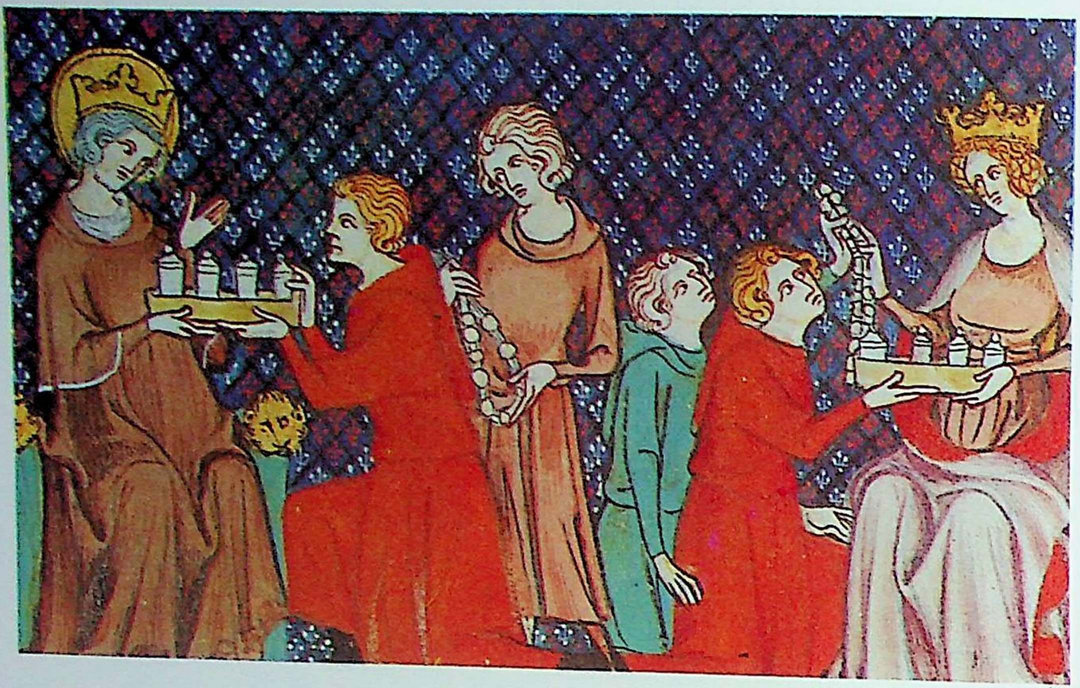






Left: St Louis (1226–1270) was an earnest Christian who said his prayers while riding. He married (opposite, below) Margaret of Provence, by whom he had eleven children. He practised charity by inviting poor people to his palace and serving them himself at table (below). A man of his time, he was merciless towards heretics, sceptics and blasphemers and encouraged the Inquisition. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





Above: together with his wife, St Louis receives merchants at his court. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Right: St Louis had a slender frame, fair hair and the 'look of an angel'. This did not prevent him being a courageous knight, though he would himself have liked to have been a monk. Detail from a wooden statuette. (Musée de Cluny.)
Far right: he is visited when ill by a bishop. He had among his counsellors the bishops of Paris and Rouen and the abbot of St Denis. He often talked with St Thomas Aquinas and St Bonaventure. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

man to take vengeance on the murderer for a period of forty days. He deprived the French nobility of many of their privileges which horrified him, including trial by battle, the carrying of arms and the waging of private wars. To encourage trade and extend the royal power, he insisted that the royal currency should be accepted throughout the kingdom.

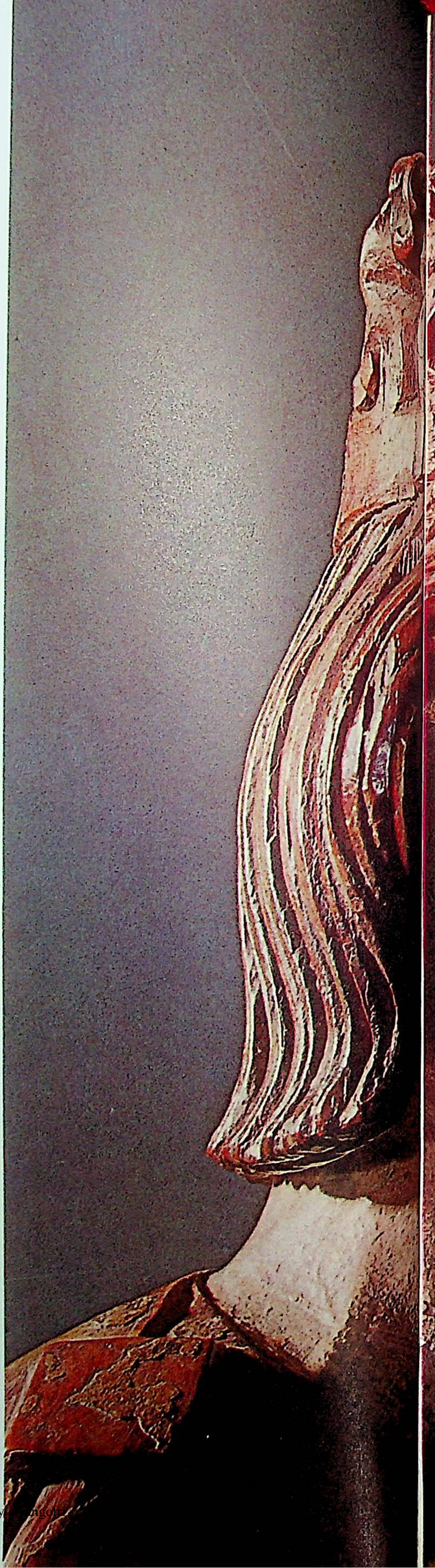
Peace with England

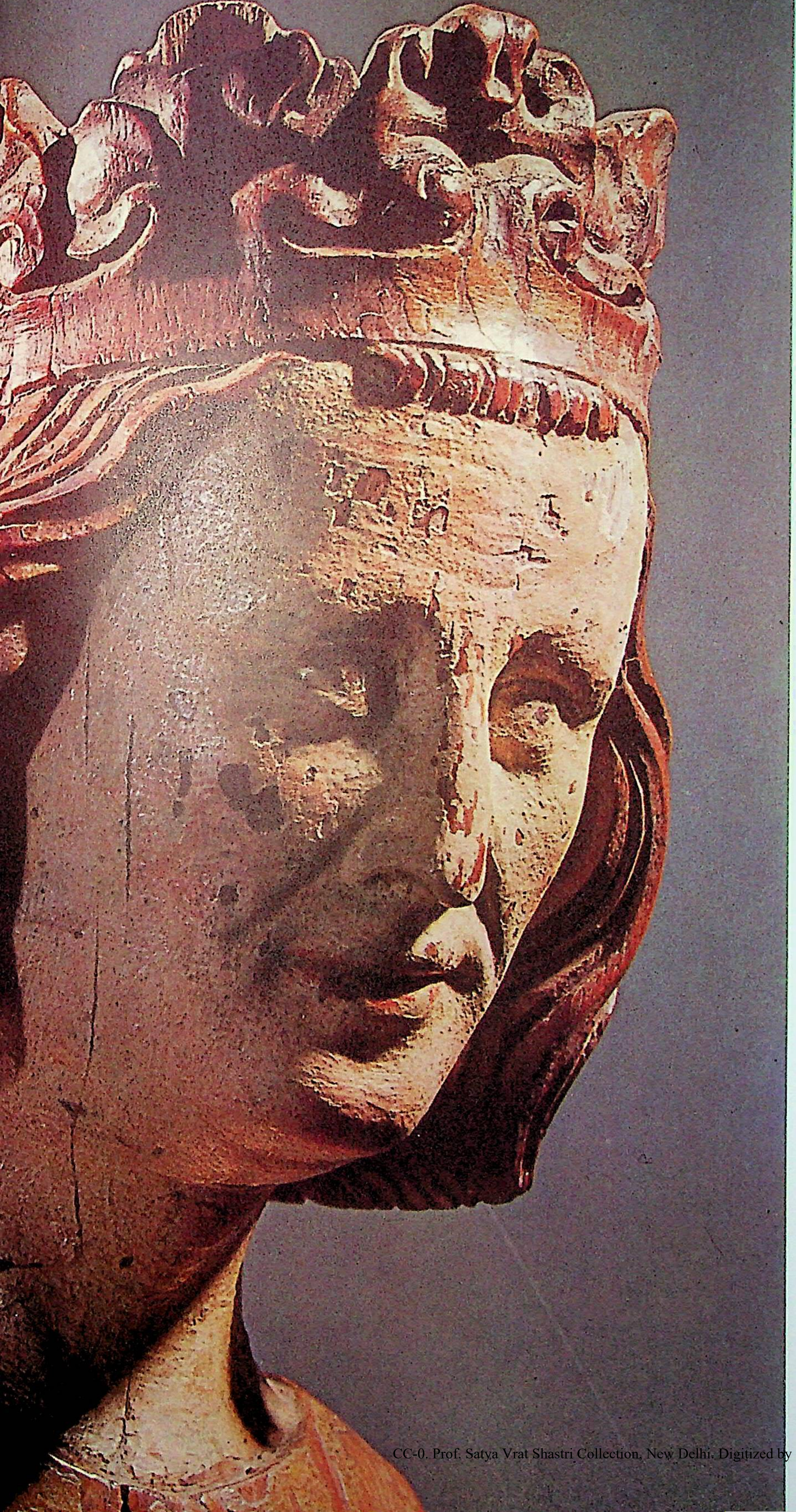
King Henry III of England wanted to recover the lands in France which his father, King John, had lost, but the expedition which he brought to France in 1242 was routed by St Louis. It would have been possible for Louis to expel him completely from France, and feudal law would have allowed the seizure of his lands. Under the Treaty of Paris in 1259, however, Louis allowed Henry to retain Gascony in return for doing homage to him for it and renouncing all claims to Normandy.

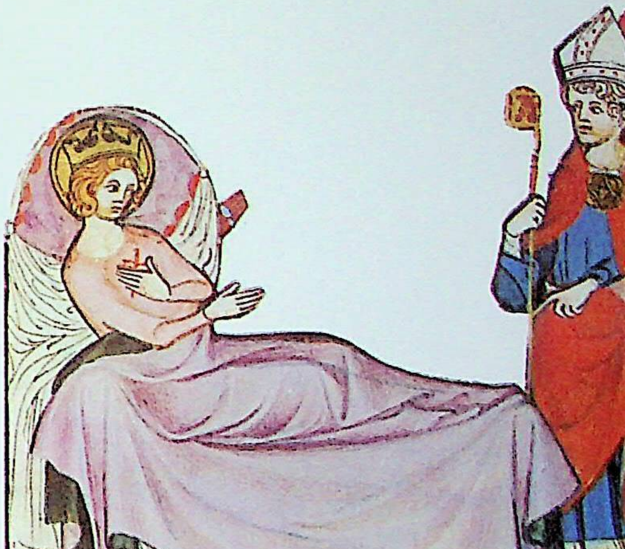
The royal council opposed the treaty unanimously, but Louis was adamant. He wanted peace, and he valued Henry's admission of his vassalage to him. 'Our wives and sisters and our children are cousins', he told his councillors, 'and for that reason it is important that there should be peace between us. There is very great honour for me in the peace which I am making with the King of England since he is now my vassal which before he was not.'

The beginning of French predominance

The reign of St Louis initiated a period of French predominance in Europe which was to endure for over five centuries, and he himself made an important contribution towards its establishment. He gained throughout Europe a reputation for fairness and impartiality that soon brought him requests from many countries to act as an arbitrator in all sorts of political disputes.





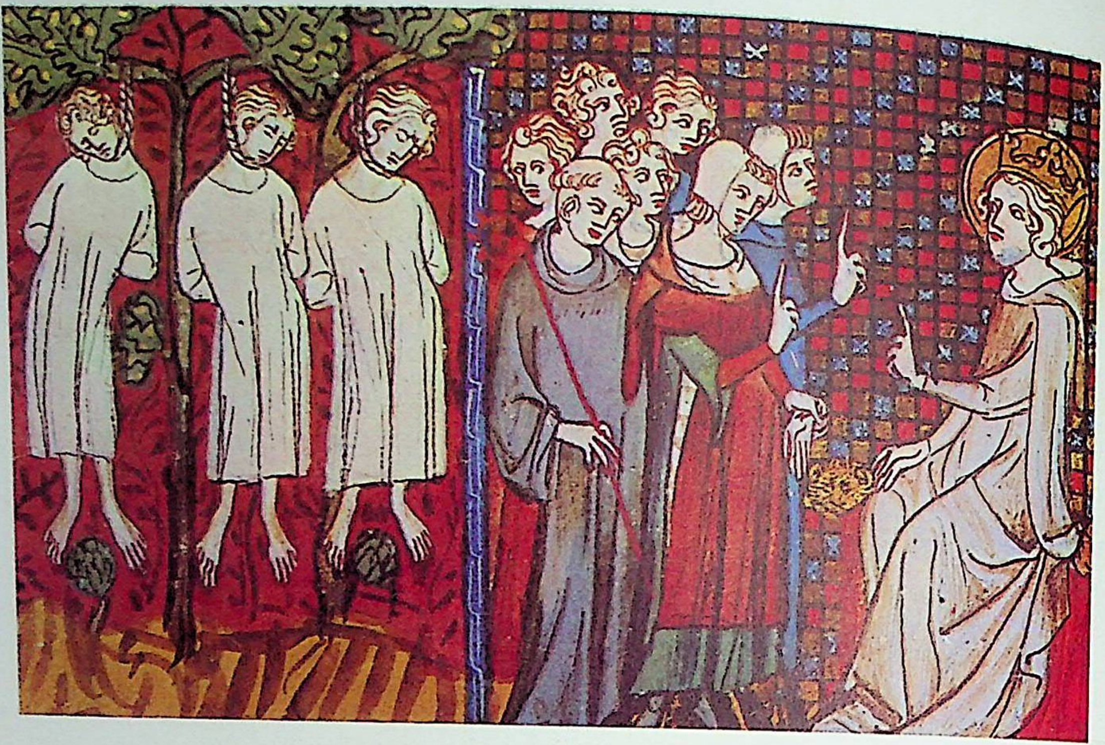


One of the cases in which he acted in this way was to arbitrate between Henry III and the barons of England. The readiness of foreign rulers and noblemen to accept his judgement brought France an unusual prestige among the nations. The king of France was doing what had previously been regarded as the function of the pope or the emperor.

There were other ways in which his reign was important for France. The law and order which he promoted throughout the country favoured the growth of trade and prosperity. French markets and fairs flourished, dealing in goods which ranged from the spices and silks of the East to the dry, salted fish of the North. The population was increasing, and wastelands and forests were being cleared for cultivation.

These circumstances, as well as the measures taken by St Louis, contributed towards the gradual evolution of feudalism into a freer system. At the same time as the king was making inroads into the power of the great vassals, so at the other end of the

St Louis was deeply concerned with the administration of justice, forbidding judicial duels and arbitrary arrest.
Right: he took action against noblemen for hanging peasants who poached on their estates. Beneath an oak-tree in the woods of Vincennes near Paris, the king listens to suitors and plaintiffs. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



social scale, the serfs were beginning to better their position. Methods of cultivation were improving, and crops were getting bigger. Private baronial wars no longer destroyed the harvest. Many serfs were able to save enough money to purchase their freedom from their lord and become rent-paying tenants.

The last crusade

It was typical of the faith of the time that St Louis in his religion was much influenced by the thought of the sufferings of Christ. Every Good Friday he visited all the churches in Paris barefooted (though to avoid ostentation he wore shoes from which the soles had been removed) and prostrated himself in adoration before the crucifix in each. And in 1245 he built the beautiful Sainte-Chapelle to enshrine two precious relics of the Passion—the Crown of Thorns and a piece of the True Cross.

It was natural, therefore, that although the crusading spirit was by now all but dead, he should be consumed by a passion to free the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem from Muslim possession. He led two crusades. The first (1249–54) was entirely without result, ending in disaster and his own capture. His second crusade (1270) was equally disastrous and achieved nothing again. He made no contribution towards the Christian position in the Holy Land nor made more likely the recapture of Jerusalem. And this time he went to his death. The chronicler, in recounting his end, could not refrain from commenting, 'And yet, ailing as he was, if he had stayed in France, he might have lived long enough and done many good works.'

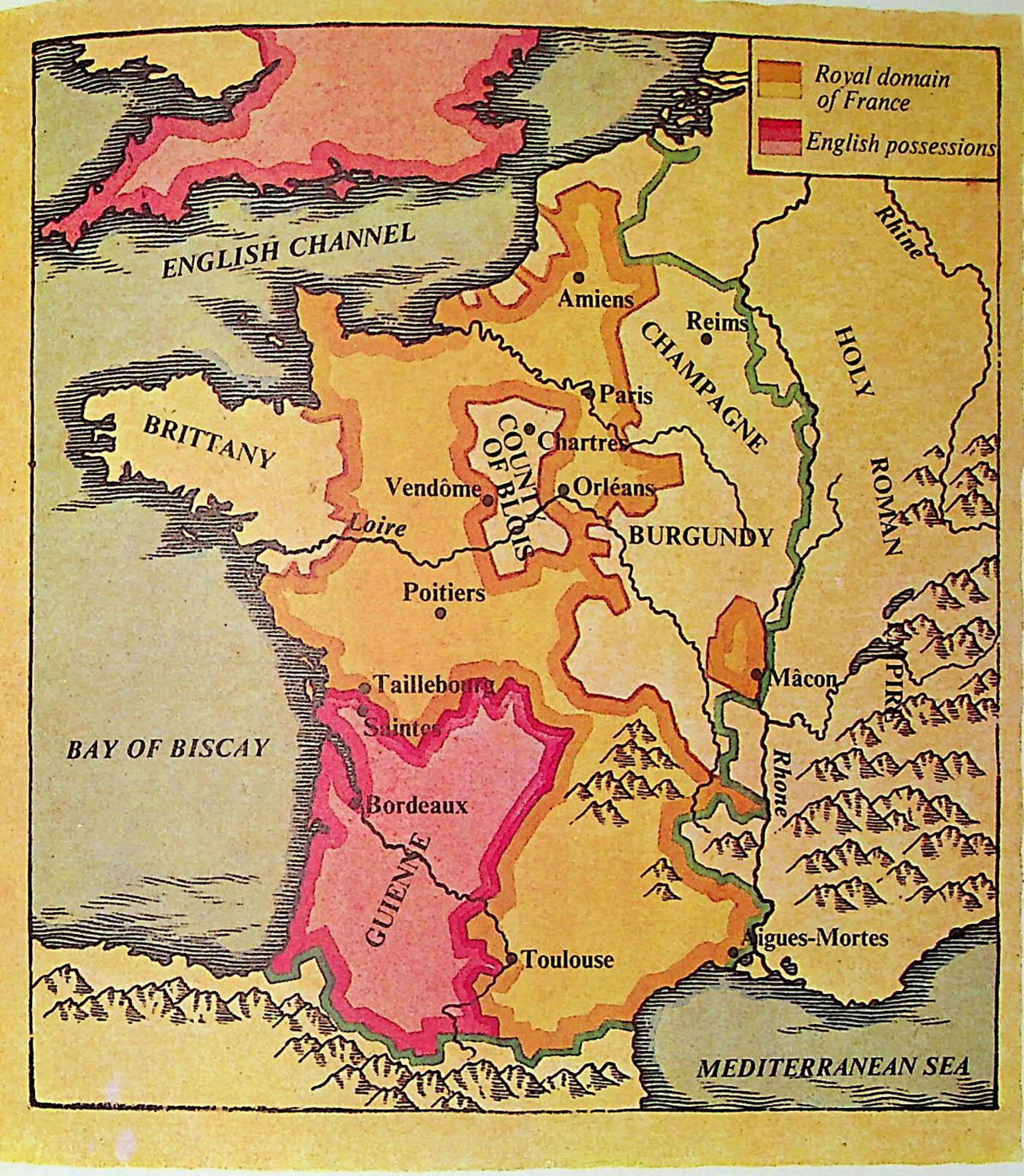
Poets and minstrels

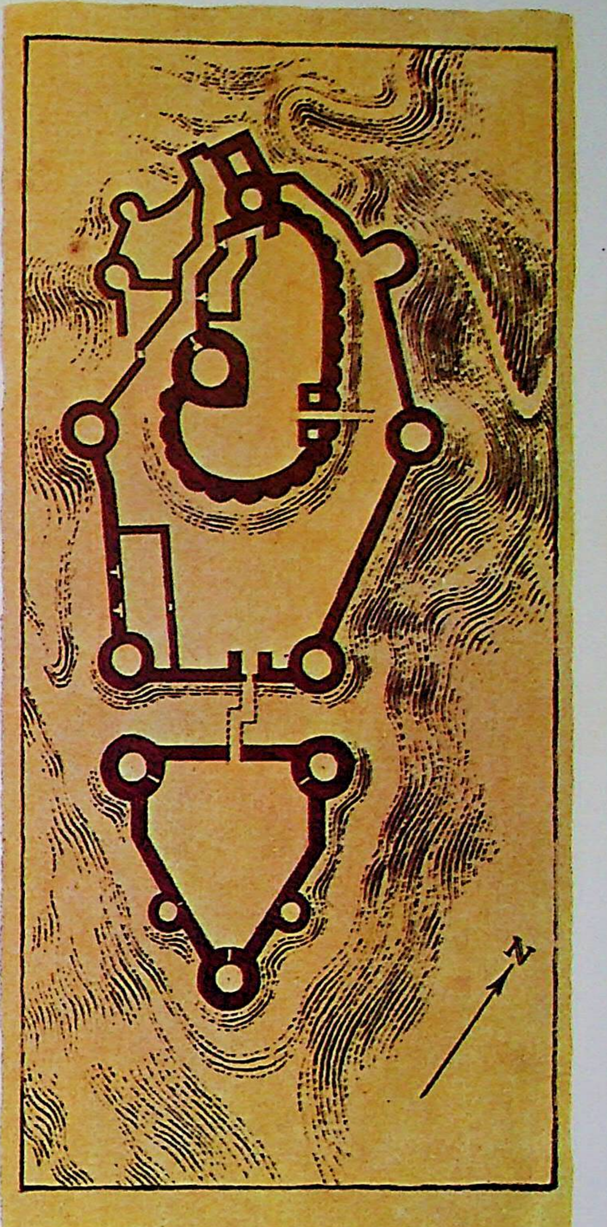
St Louis is one of the best-known kings of France. This is partly because of the impression his character and actions made upon all those who knew him. Many of his contemporaries believed that in him they had a saint living among them, and they were anxious that his deeds should not be forgotten. St Louis is also well-known, however, because he was happy in his biographer, his friend, Jean, Sire de Joinville. Indeed, his reign was an important period in the development of French literature.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, most of the country's literature was in the form of songs, fables and romances which were usually sung or recited by travelling minstrels and story-tellers who went from town to town and from castle to castle. Since all books had to be copied laboriously by hand, they remained few and expensive, and these men were important, not only as performers and entertainers, but also as guardians of the literary traditions of the French people.

Long remembered among these poets and minstrels were the troubadours of the south of France. The troubadours often sang their own ballads and lyrics in the castles of feudal princes or before the courts of love presided over by noble ladies. Full of imagery and movement, their poems spoke of love and battle and chivalry. Sometimes these troubadours were themselves noblemen or knights. Among them were Bertram de Born, who plundered and made war on his neighbours and then subjected them to dazzling and penetrating satire in his poems.

The troubadours were silenced when the Albigensian crusade destroyed the civilisation of Provence, but the north of France also had its own poets and minstrels. Their


Royal domain of France
English possessions
ENGLISH CHANNEL
BRITTANY
Amiens
Reims
CHAMPAGNE
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Rhine
Paris
COUNTY OF BLOIS
Chartres
Vendôme
Orléans
Loire
BURGUNDY
Poitiers
Mâcon
Rhone
Taillebourg
Saintes
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
GUIENNE
Toulouse
Aigues-Mortes
MEDITERRANEAN SEA



Above: a map of France after the Treaty of Paris of 1259. *The treaty defined the possessions which Henry III of England was allowed to retain in France in return for doing homage to King Louis.*
Above right: a plan of Château-Gaillard which Philip II of France captured in 1204 *from the English after a long siege.*

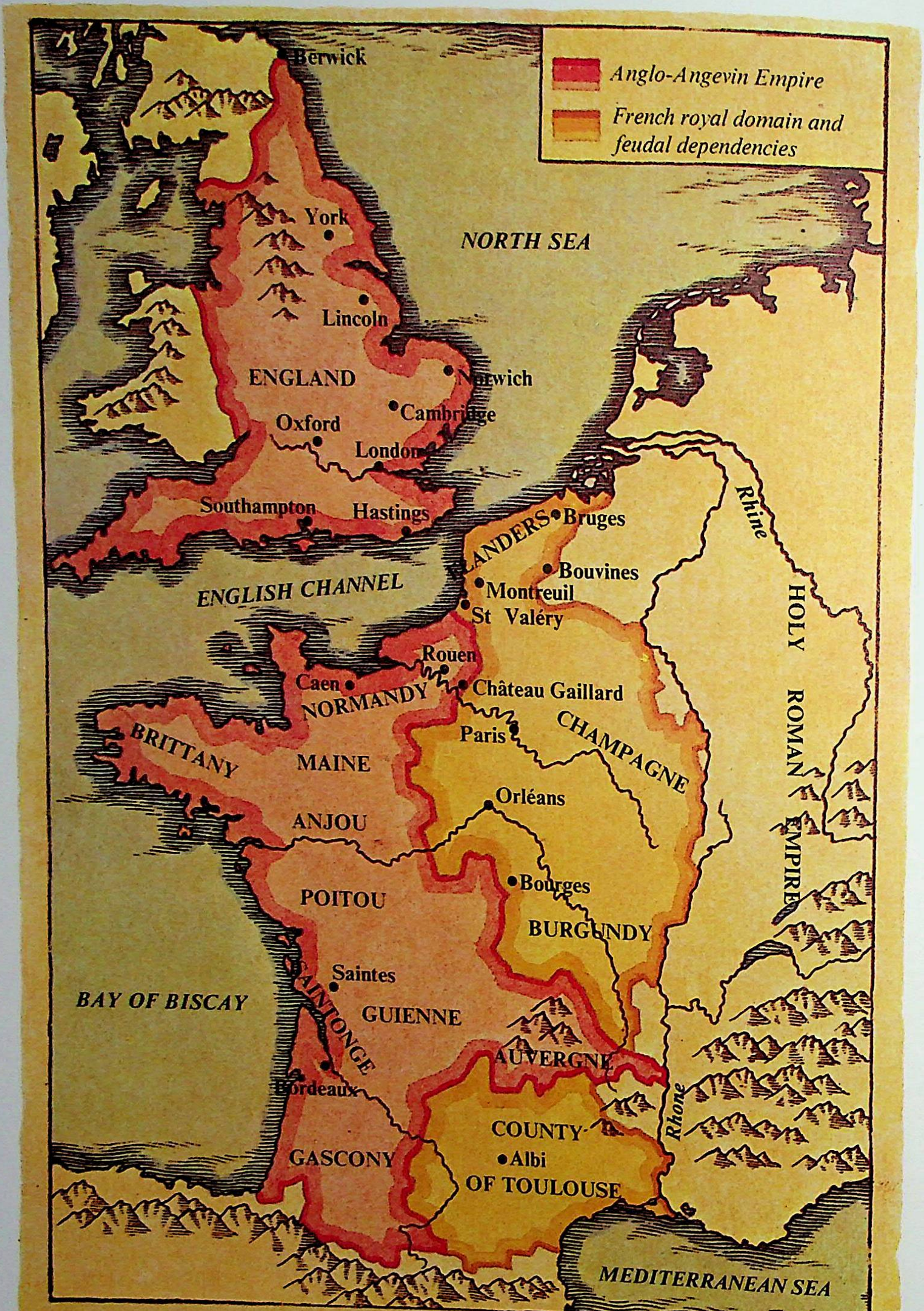
epics and romances were mostly based upon old legends which told traditional tales of events lost in the mists of history. These also dealt with the romance of chivalry and preserved the stories of Charlemagne and the twelve noble Paladins of his court and of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table.

Chroniclers and historians

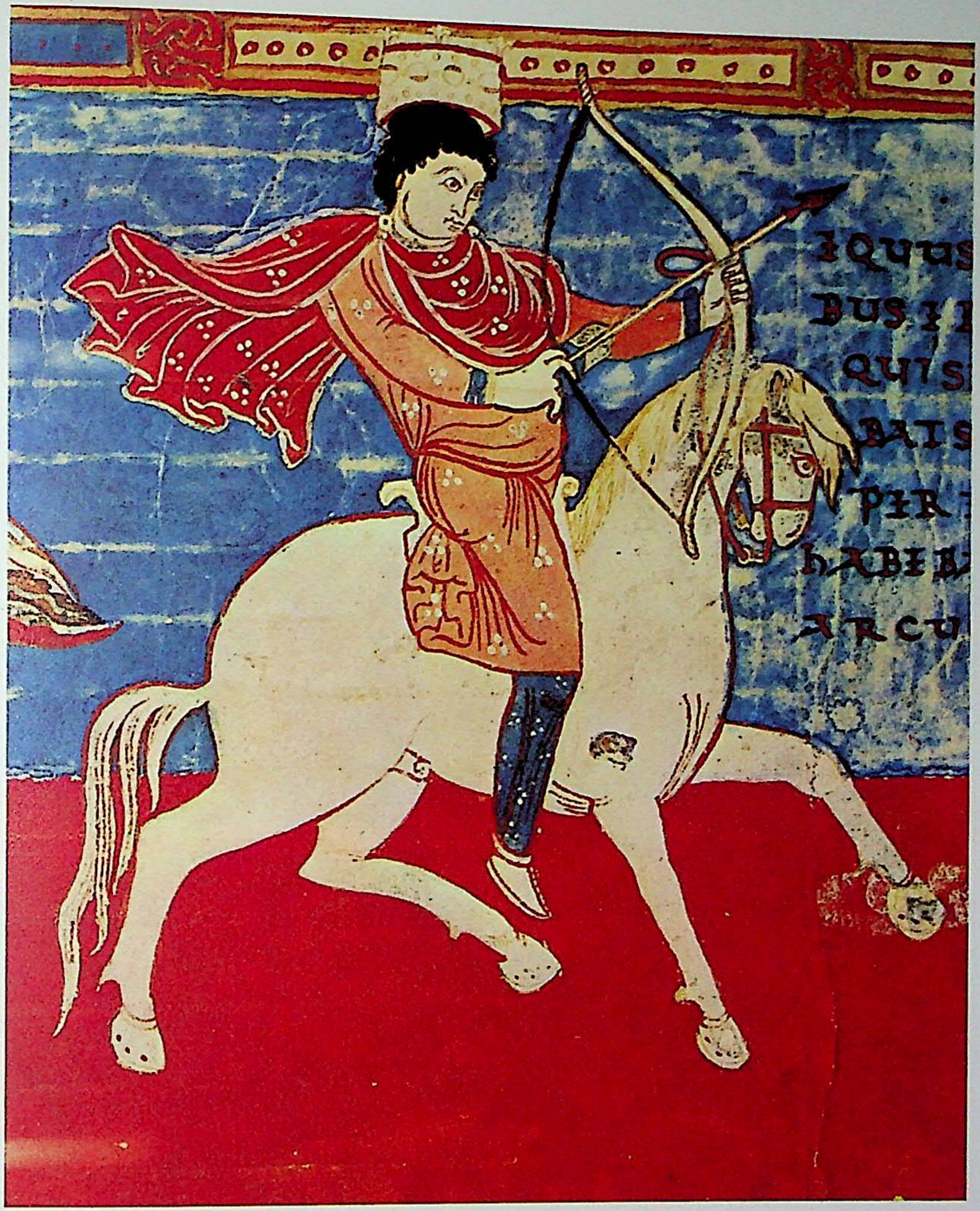
In the thirteenth century, however, poetry was supplemented by prose, especially in the form of chronicles and histories written by men who had witnessed the events they described. The first of these French historians was Geoffroi de Villehardouin, who took part in the Fourth Crusade and wrote the *Conquest of Constantinople*, describing the events from 1198 to 1207. This is his account of the spectacle of Constantinople as it appeared for the first time to the astonished eyes of the Christian noblemen—'They could not believe that there could be so wealthy a city in the world, when they saw these high walls and magnificent towers which enclosed it completely, and these rich palaces and lofty churches. . . . And be assured that there was none, however bold, whose heart did not tremble; and this was not surprising for no man had ever undertaken such a great enterprise since the world was created.'

Villehardouin was followed by Joinville, who accompanied his royal master on his disastrous first crusade in 1248. In his *Life of St Louis*, he revealed how he idolised the king, but joined him on this venture with deep misgivings. As he set out to accompany him, he passed near his own castle, 'but', he said, 'I dare not turn my face towards Joinville, for fear that my heart would fail me in leaving my two children and my fine castle which are so dear to me.'

St Louis himself was interested in history and scholarship. While in the east, he had heard that the Muslim ruler of Egypt was making a collection of works by ancient writers, and 'he was afflicted', wrote Joinville, 'to perceive more wisdom in the sons of darkness than in the children of light.' He immediately began to collect manuscripts also, placing them in the royal chapel at Paris and allowing professors and students to use them. Scholars came from all parts of Europe to consult them, adding yet more to the predominance of France and her capital.


🟥 Anglo-Angevin Empire
🟧 French royal domain and feudal dependencies
Berwick
York
NORTH SEA
Lincoln
ENGLAND
Norwich
Cambridge
Oxford
London
Southampton
Hastings
Rhine
FLANDERS
Bruges
Bouvines
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Montreuil
St Valéry
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Rouen
Caen
NORMANDY
Château Gaillard
Paris
CHAMPAGNE
BRITTANY
MAINE
Orléans
ANJOU
Bourges
POITOU
BURGUNDY
Saintes
BAY OF BISCAY
SAINTONGE
GUIENNE
AUVERGNE
Bordeaux
Rhone
COUNTY OF TOULOUSE
Albi
GASCONY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

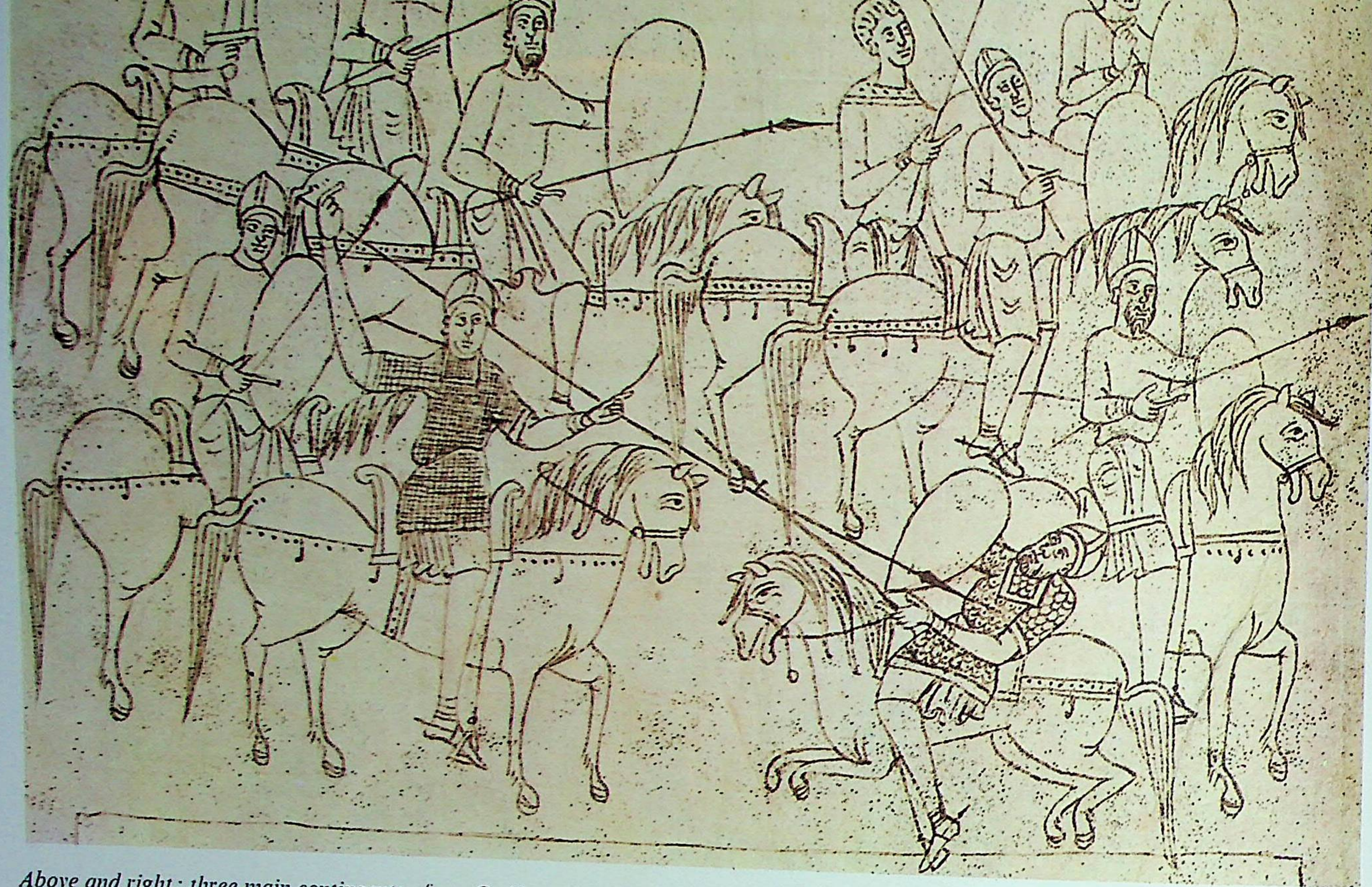
England and France showing the extent of the Anglo-Angevin Empire at the time of the death of Henry II Plantagenet of England in 1189. Through his father, grandfather and brother Henry had inherited vast possessions in France, and his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 enlarged his French domains still further.



This representation of one of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse symbolises the spiritual motives of the crusades—the yearning for personal salvation and the expectation of Christ's second coming when He would condemn those who had not served Him truly. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The Crusades

The advance of Islam; the tragic People's Crusade; the crusaders in the Holy Land; Jerusalem becomes a Christian kingdom; Saladin leads the Muslim counter-attack; the disastrous Second Crusade; Constantinople sacked; the futility of the last crusades; Europe enriched by contact with Byzantium and Islam.



Above and right: three main contingents of crusaders setting out for Constantinople by the overland route in 1096. Those from the borders of France and Germany, under Godfrey of Bouillon, went by Hungary and Serbia, while those from southern France, under Raymond, count of Toulouse, and from northern France, under Hugh of Vermandois and Stephen, count of Blois, crossed the Alps, northern Italy and Dalmatia. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The crusades took place at the same time as the establishment of the English and French monarchies, the Hildebrandine reforms of the Church and the struggle between pope and emperor. This is why the Christian impulse was soon destroyed by national aspirations and private quarrels. The Fourth Crusade degenerated into a campaign of conquest and pillage against the Byzantine Empire by which the Italian maritime cities eliminated their most serious competitor. The last efforts of St Louis were despairing and too late. Despite heroic exploits, nothing was left of the conquests of the western nations except the island of Cyprus.

The impact of Islam

The Muslim expansion was part of centuries of Arab movement. Neither the Persians nor the Romans ever overcame the desert barriers to effect an entire subjugation of the Arabian peninsula whence this race originated. From early times they were able sailors and traded with India and Africa and founded settlements. The coming of the Prophet Mohammed (c. 570–632) and their acceptance of his faith of Islam had a unifying and inspiring effect upon them. They embarked upon a series of conquests which were to bring them a vast empire.

By 711 they had conquered Syria, Palestine, Persia, Egypt and the whole North African coast, had invaded Spain, where they were finally to be suppressed only in 1492, and were advancing eastward through Afghanistan to India and the Far East. Resistance came only from the Byzantine Empire, which continued to defend Constantinople, and the Franks, who under Charles Martel at Poitiers, put a limit to Islamic expansion in the West. Their advance was made possible by the divisions of Christendom and the weakness of the Byzantine Empire. The empire of the Arabs, larger than that of Rome at its peak, lasted from about 650 to 850. Thereafter their power declined and, towards the end of the ninth century, the Byzantine Empire had regained much of the territory in Asia Minor which the Arabs had conquered.

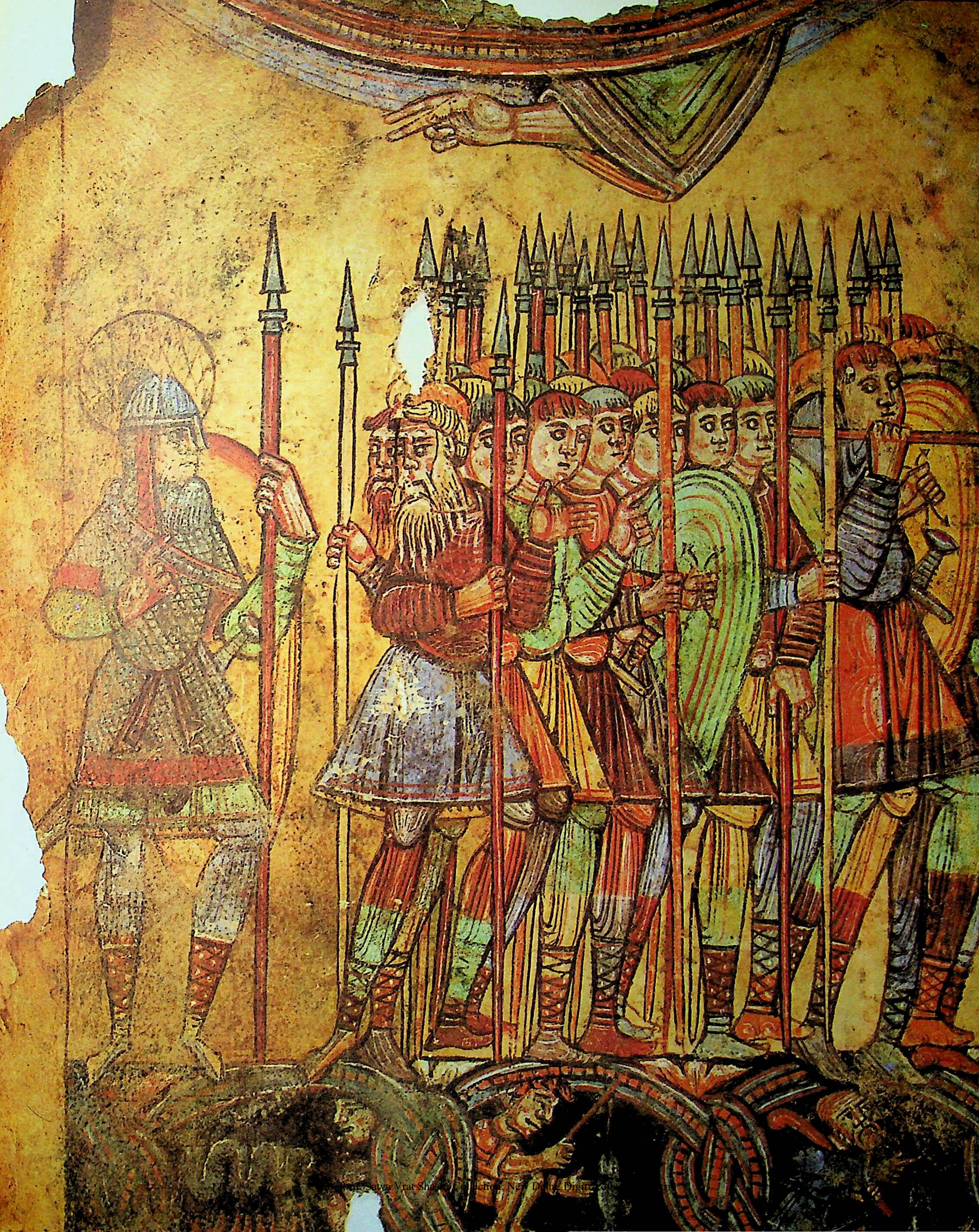
In the eleventh century, however, the Byzantine Empire suffered much more severely from the Seljuk Turks, who originally came from beyond the Caspian Sea. They were a fierce race, akin to the Huns and the Magyars, who had been converted to Islam. They founded an empire which included Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. They invaded Armenia, one of the earliest of Christian lands, and there in 1071 the Seljuk horse-archers mowed down in battle the finest Byzantine army. All Asia Minor lay open to their conquest. The Byzantine Empire, for so long a bulwark of Christendom, never recovered.

The expansion of Christianity

At the same time as the Byzantine Empire was enduring this second Moslem onslaught, it was separated religiously from western Europe. Growing differences between the eastern and western Churches resulted finally in the Great Schism of 1054. Each Church now denounced the others as heretical, and this division of the two halves of Christendom added to the dangers of the situation.

Yet, while Islam was encroaching upon Europe and the Byzantine Empire, both eastern and western Christendom were extending their boundaries.

In the same century that the eastern Church suffered severely from the advance of the Turks, it gained Russia through the conversion of her ruler, Vladimir, who



married a sister of the contemporary Byzantine emperor. In contrast to such peaceful expansion, however, the movement in western Christendom took the form of wars, crusades and conquests.

In Germany, the movement of expansion began with Henry the Fowler, who captured Brandenburg in 928 and annexed the heathen tribes between the Elbe and the Oder, thereby initiating a policy of settlement and colonisation which the Germans undertook for over two centuries.

Many converts were made to Christianity, and frontier bishoprics and churches were established, and in its later stages the movement was sometimes assisted by crusaders. However, at the same time motives of conquest, trade and appropriation were foremost among those who directed the policy.

A similar combination of religious fervour and commercial enterprise is to be seen in the Christian reconquest of Spain and Portugal. In the eleventh century, the Spanish Christians secured from their northern neighbours increasing help against the Moors whose inroads were threatening the independence of their kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. Armies of volunteers from Normandy, Burgundy and Aquitaine crossed the Pyrenees to fight for the Christian cause, but also to win rich spoils or establish a colony. Noblemen received new fiefs, merchants settled in the cities abandoned by the Moors, and peasants left the barren uplands for more fertile land in the river valleys. The expulsion of the Arabs from Sicily by the Normans during the eleventh century was animated by a similar complexity of motives.

It was inevitable that the expansion of western Christianity should clash with the advance of Islam. The subsequent crusades were enterprises which continued on a larger scale the aims of the German, Spanish and Norman wars of conquest. They were prompted by a similar mixture of piety, land hunger and the desire for trade and travel, but their political and territorial gains were to be short-lived.

The appeal from Constantinople

The Arabs had taken Jerusalem in 637, but pilgrimages there from western Europe had continued for many centuries afterwards. It was in the eleventh century that difficulties began to arise, partly because of the Great Schism of 1054, but still more because of the capture of Jerusalem in 1071 by the Seljuk Turks. They were less prepared than the Arabs to tolerate Christian pilgrims, who soon began to complain of the insults and persecutions they suffered at their hands.

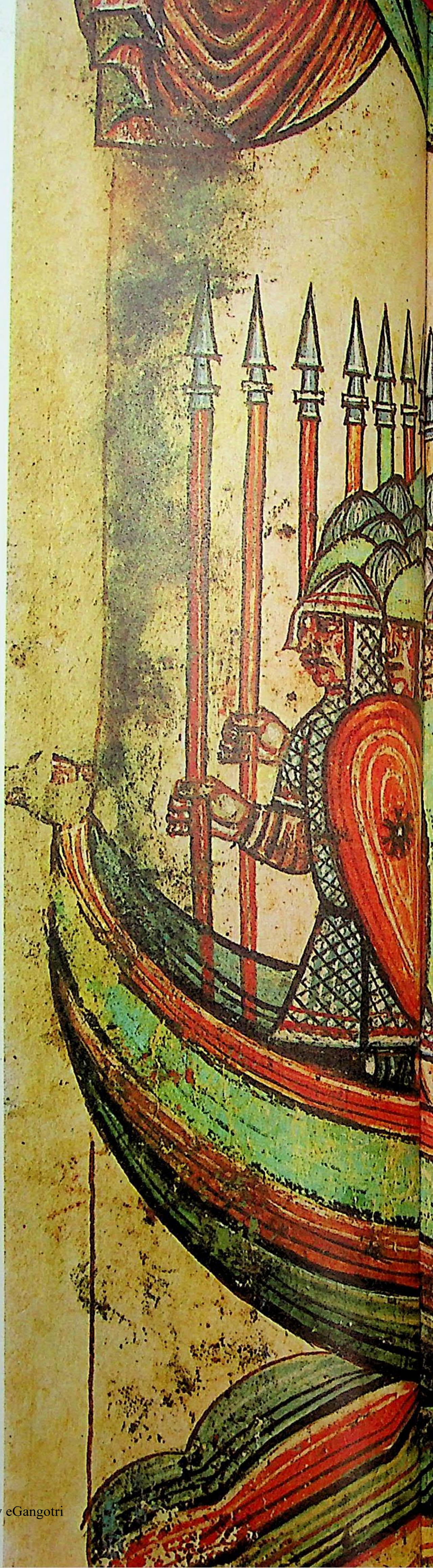
The capture of Jerusalem by the Turks was followed by the disastrous defeat of the Byzantine army. The Byzantine Empire could no longer be regarded as Christendom's bulwark of defence against the infidel. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus, who had succeeded to a realm reduced almost to the walls of his capital, appealed in despair to Pope Gregory VII for help from western Europe. Gregory, who had hoped that this might prove an opportunity to reunite the eastern and western Churches, was sympathetic, but he was soon occupied with the Investiture Controversy and could do nothing about the appeal from Constantinople. The emperor, however, persisted in his efforts, and eventually Pope Urban II accepted the responsibility of calling upon the rulers of Christendom to take arms against Islam.

The People's Crusade

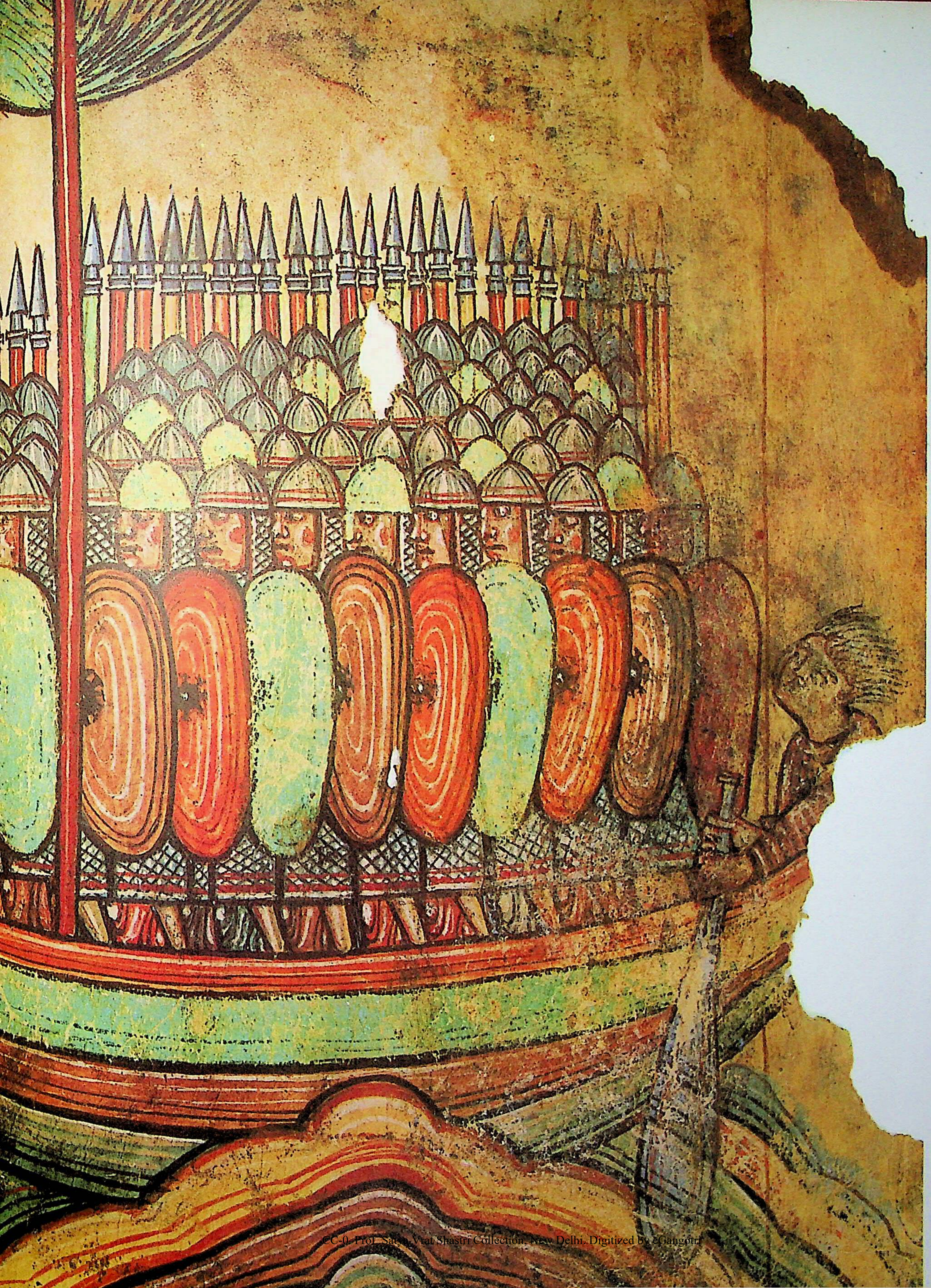
A great Council met at Clermont in France in 1095. It was attended by over 200 bishops and many noblemen as well. Urban, who was a Frenchman, made an eloquent speech to the assembly. 'Jerusalem', he said, 'is now held by the enemies of Christ. She longs to be liberated and ceases not to implore you to come to her aid. God has conferred on you Franks above all other nations great glory in arms. Accordingly, undertake this journey eagerly for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the reward of imperishable glory in the kingdom of heaven.'

So deeply moved were his hearers by these words that when he had finished they cried out, 'God wills it! God wills it!' Urban distributed to hundreds of knights the crosses of red cloth which they were to wear on their shoulders or their helmets and from which they acquired the name of crusaders. During the next few months Urban went about France, repeating his appeal and organising the enterprise.

The pope's message was taken up by travelling preachers. One of the most passionate of these was a French monk, Peter the Hermit. He had himself seen the sufferings of the Christians in Jerusalem, and he rode on an ass through towns and villages, bearing a huge crucifix and sobbing and groaning as he urged the people with fiery phrases to deliver the city from the infidel. He was assisted by another Frenchman,



The fourth contingent of the crusade, the Normans from Sicily, led by Bohemund, son of Robert Guiscard, and his nephew, Tancred, crossed the Adriatic. The Normans had experience of the sea and of war in the East and a knowledge of the Arab world acquired in Sicily. They were the best fighting men in the campaign.
Right: soldiers on board a ship. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Walter the Penniless, and there were other preachers of the same sort in Germany.

These preachers were responsible for what has been called the 'People's Crusade'. Their appeal was assisted by the continuing belief in the eleventh century that the Last Judgement was at hand.

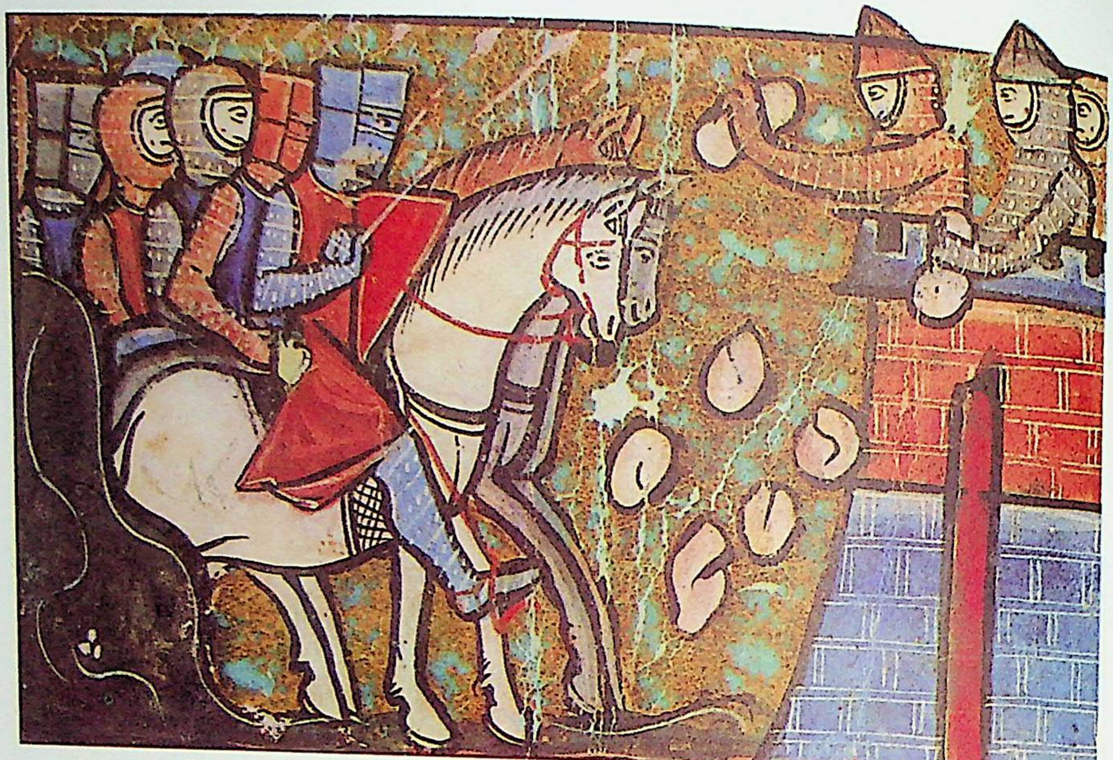
Small enthusiastic groups of men and women, without arms or discipline, set out from France and Germany for the Holy Land. Some of the German groups massacred and plundered the Jews in the Rhineland towns. Many of them were later set upon and routed by Magyar soldiers as they passed through Hungary. Those French and German groups which reached Constantinople in 1096 were advised by the emperor to await the arrival of the crusading armies, but since they took to plundering, the Greeks encouraged them to cross to the Asiatic side of the Bosporus where they proceeded to descend in great disorder to attack the city of Nicaea. There they were slaughtered by Turkish archers massed behind the defensive ramparts. Walter the Penniless was among those slain. Peter the Hermit was in Constantinople seeking help from the emperor. He survived for twenty years the disastrous People's Crusade.

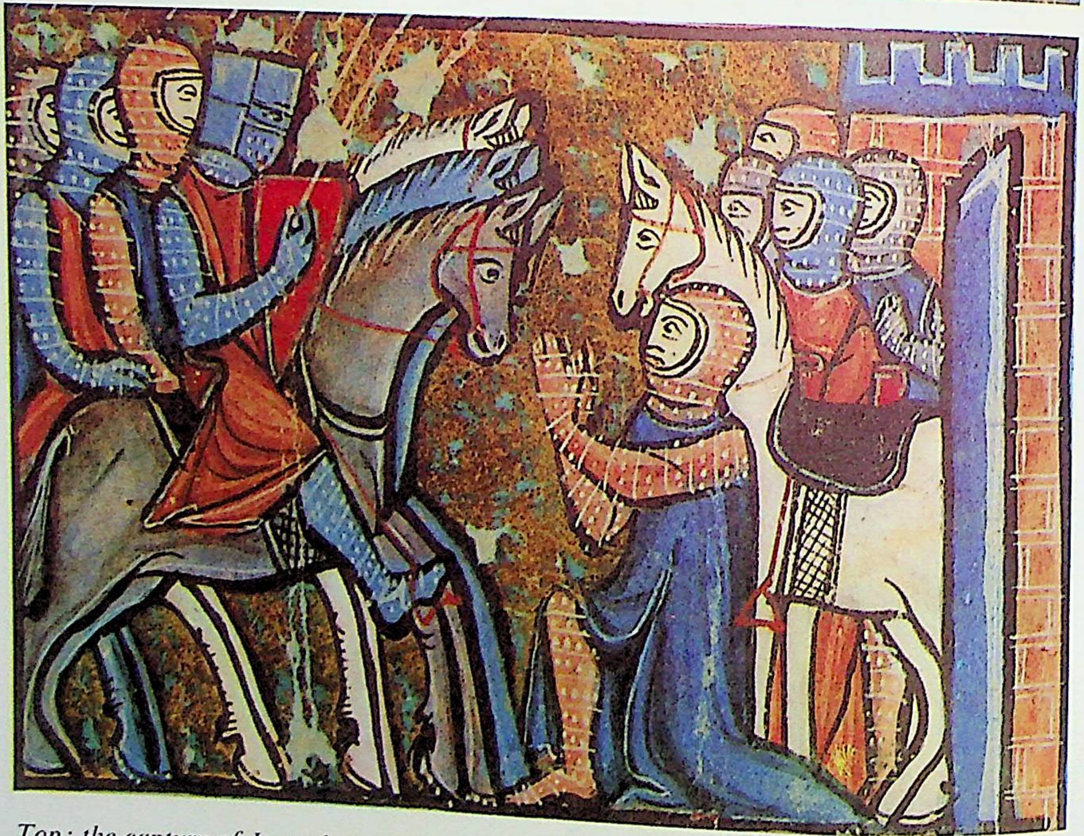
The leaders of the First Crusade

Meanwhile, the military preparations for the First Crusade were proceeding. Since none of the great sovereigns of Europe came forward to lead the crusade, it was conducted by princes and noblemen. Some were inspired by religious devotion, others by a desire for travel and adventure and most probably by the hope of new lands and power for themselves.

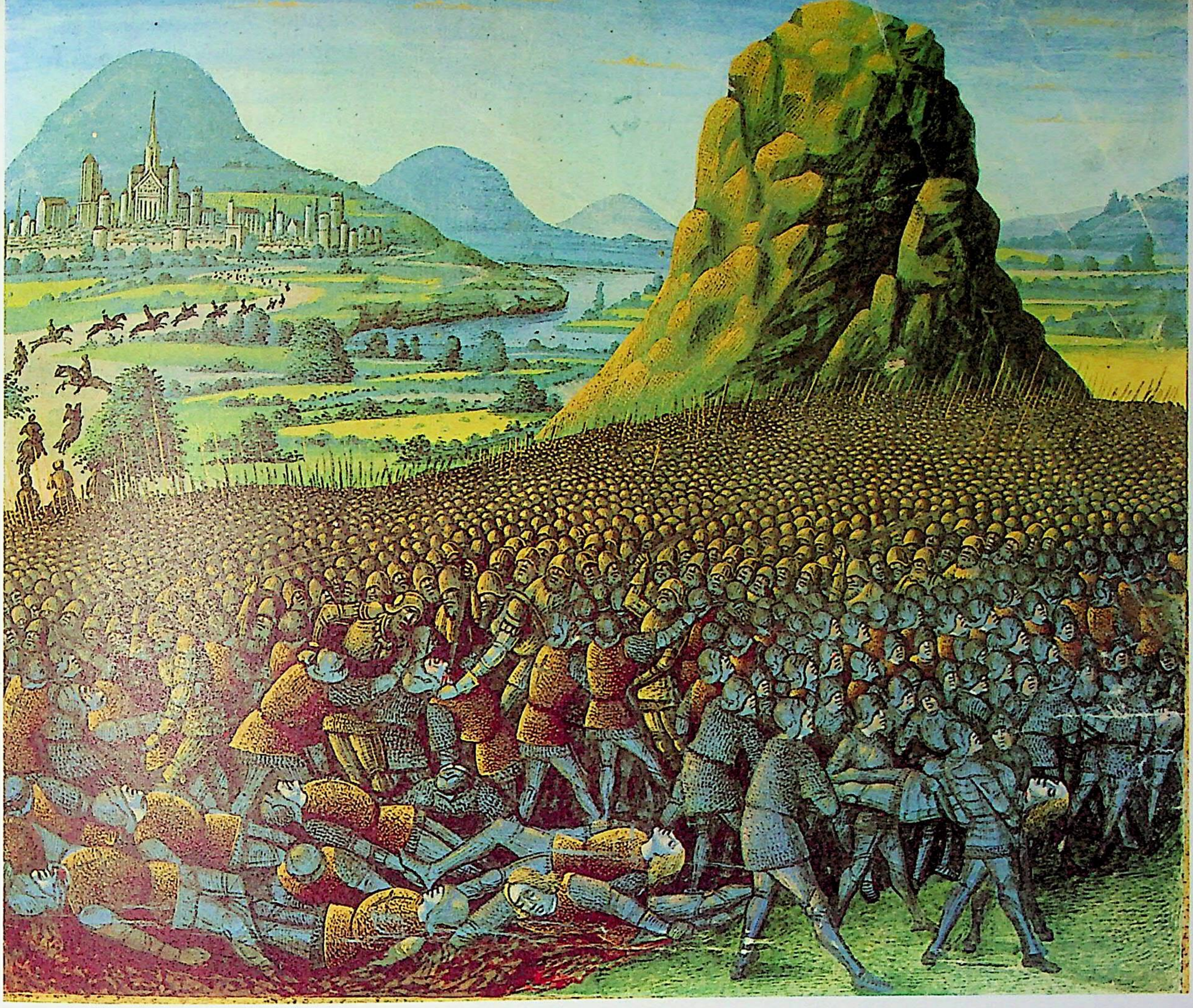
Moreover, the leaders and soldiers of the First Crusade were predominantly French. Each leader raised his own force. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, gathered Germans, Flemings and Frenchmen from the region between the Meuse and the Rhine. Count Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the King of France, Count Stephen of Blois and Robert, Duke of Normandy, raised a force in northern France and attracted volunteers from England and even Scandinavia, while Count Raymond of Toulouse drew his contingent from southern France. Another group of Normans, from southern Italy, was led by Bohemund of Otranto, son of Robert Guiscard, and his nephew, Tancred.

It was agreed that the forces were to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople in 1096 and from there begin their operations against the Turks. They proceeded to this destination by three well-known routes. Godfrey de Bouillon's contingent went by the Danube through Hungary and Serbia, Count Raymond's and Count Hugh's contingents crossed the Alps and went through northern Italy and Dalmatia, and the





Top: the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 *was followed by a shocking massacre, which made the Muslim towns on the coast fight to the death rather than surrender. Godfrey of Bouillon called himself 'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre' and refused to be recognised as king of Jerusalem. Of fair ability, but very pious and possessing immense physical strength (he is depicted, opposite, killing a bear), he died in* 1100 *returning from an expedition against the emir of Damascus. His body was carried through his lamenting army (above, right). Above: the surrender of Antioch. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*



Normans under Bohemund crossed the Adriatic from Apulia to Durazzo.

It was not until the late spring of 1097 that the scattered and poorly-organised forces had drifted one after another into Constantinople. Their approach, preceded by stories from towns and villages of looting and destruction, alarmed the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. He had expected mercenary troops in response to his appeal for help and did not welcome the arrival of whole, self-contained armies. He particularly feared the Normans from souther Italy. They were the best troops and, moreover, Bohemund and his father were old oppenents of the Byzantine Empire, which they had already invaded several times.

In addition, while Alexius wanted to regain the provinces he had lost to the Normans, the leaders of the crusade planned to reconquer Syria and Palestine and share it among themselves. He insisted, therefore, that before he transported them across the Bosporus they should swear an oath of obedience to him. They agreed unwillingly to do this. It was also arranged that the emperor would furnish them with supplies and receive back his lost provinces.

The Holy Lance of Antioch

After recapturing Nicaea, which was handed over to Alexius, the crusaders began to advance across Asia Minor. In front went the mail-clad horsemen, who wore over their chain armour white surcoats on which the red cross was sewn, and behind them on foot came the archers, armed with crossbows or longbows. They were still a motley crowd and ill-prepared for the march. On their way across Europe, many knights had travelled as if they were going to a tournament, with falcons on their wrists, their hounds running before them and their chess-boards to relieve their tedious hours; and now many of them had not thought of carrying water-bottles. However, they defeated the Turks at Dorylaeum and eventually arrived at Antioch in October 1097.

The city was strongly walled, and the crusaders were not numerous enough to blockade it. They suffered severely from lack of supplies and the cold of the winter. Fortunately the local Turkish princes were on such bad terms with each other that they delayed the despatch of a relieving force. After eight months, the crusaders captured the city, only to be besieged in it themselves by a belatedly-assembled Turkish army. Dysentery now broke out among them, and their stores of food ran low.

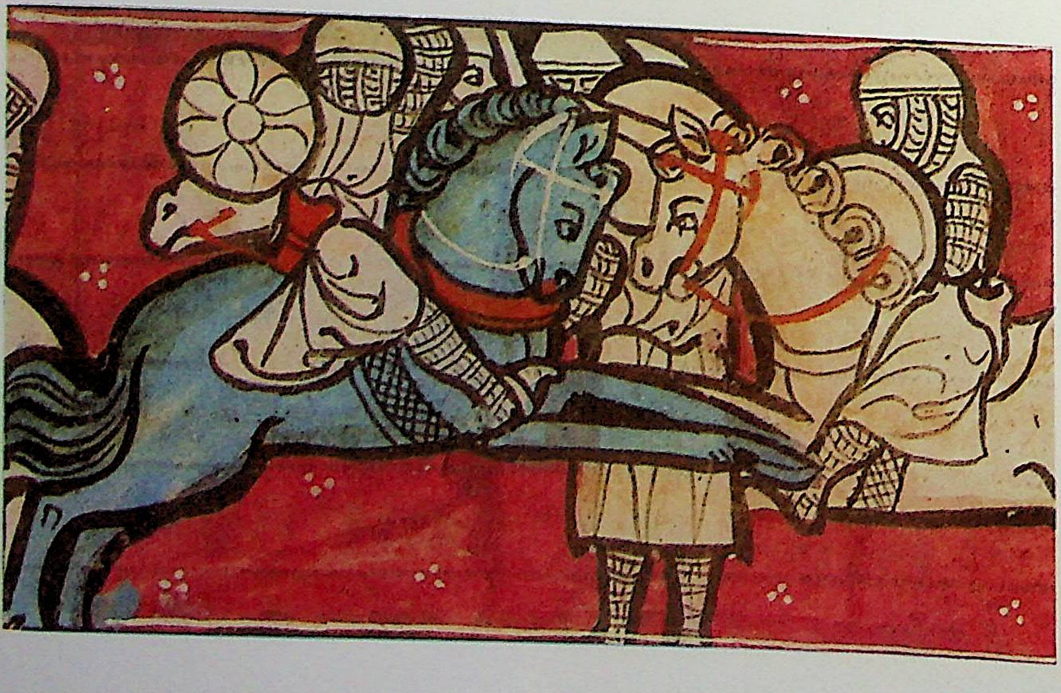
In these desperate circumstances a Provençal monk, after having a vision, discovered beneath the pavement of an old church the 'Holy Lance of Antioch', the head of the spear with which the Saviour's side was pierced during the Passion.

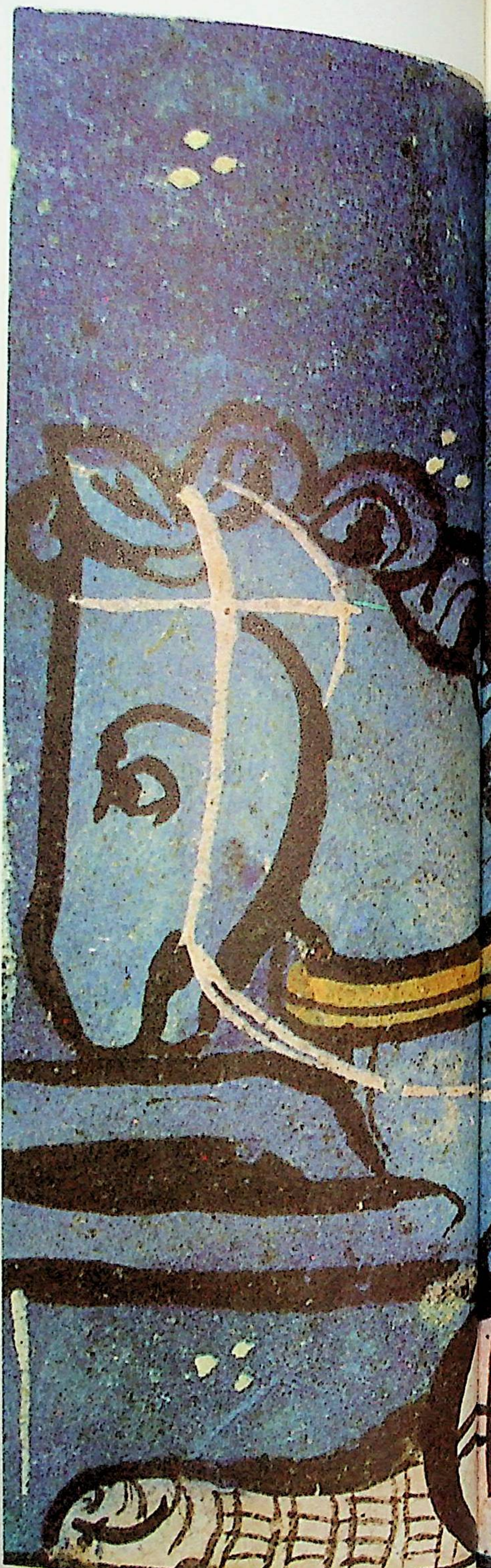
The crusaders sallied out, led by Bohemond and won a decisive victory. Some crusaders said that they had been aided by St George and other saints fighting on white horses. Bohemund, however, felt that the tales of miracles were an aspersion on his generalship. He compelled the monk who had found the Holy Lance to undergo the ordeal of walking through a fire, which killed him. Bohemund also worsened their relations with the Byzantine emperor by refusing to hand over Antioch to him.

The taking of Jerusalem

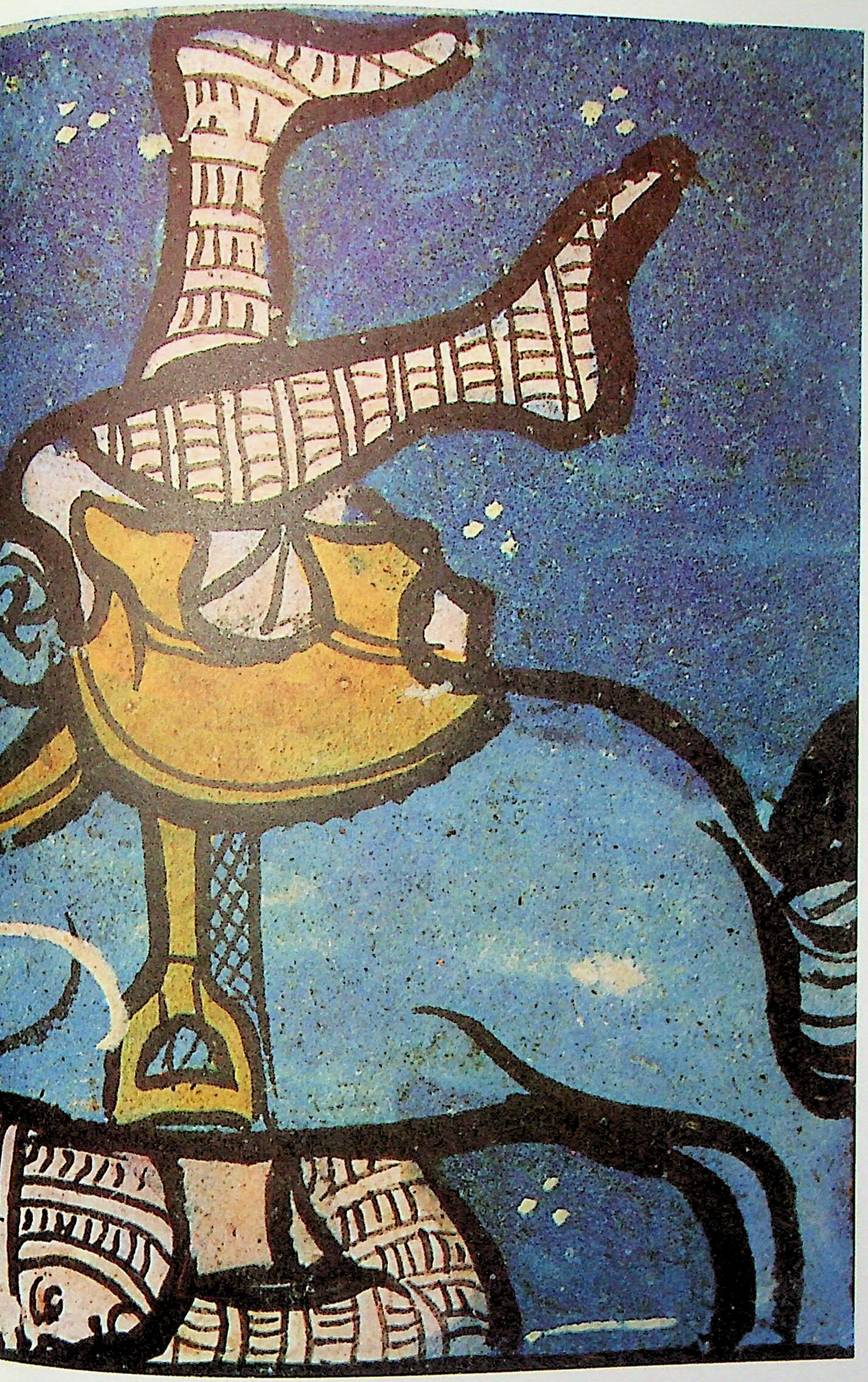
The crusaders remained for seven months in Antioch. Not only were they exhausted by famine and sickness, but they also quarrelled among themselves. Raymond of Toulouse resented Bohemund's claim to rule the city. It was not until 1099 that they resumed their progress southwards and advanced down the coast from Antioch.

In the end, however, their delay was fortunate for them. They began their journey again just as the two most important





The crusaders brought to the East their feudal institutions and customs, distributing fiefs and re-creating the hierarchy of vassalage. They preserved also its political weakness and anarchy as well as its brutal habits. Four large states were formed from their conquests—the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch and the earldoms of Edessa and Tripoli.
Above: two knights in combat.
Right: a knight unhorsed in a tournament.
Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Muslim powers in the Near East were at enmity with each other. The Seljuk Turks were advancing westwards to fight the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt. Palestine lay between them and was the inevitable battleground. In 1099 the Fatamites had just succeeded in recovering Jerusalem from the Turks, but they could exert little control beyond the city. The petty Arab emirs, who ruled in the country, were unable to check the advancing crusaders. One by one the cities opened their gates to them—Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre and Acre. On 7 June the crusaders reached Jerusalem.

'When they heard the name of Jerusalem', a chronicler wrote, 'they could not keep back their tears. They gave thanks to God for having allowed them to achieve the aim of their pilgrimage, the Holy City where our Saviour had wished to save the world. . . . They advanced until the walls and towers of the city became clearly visible. They raised their hands, in an act of supplication towards heaven, and humbly kissed the ground.' When the moment of devotion had passed, however, it was clear that the fortifications of the city would be hard to overcome. The siege lasted forty days, during which time it was intensely hot and water was short. The crusaders lacked siege-engines until a Genoese fleet arrived at Jaffa with food and materials of war. Then they built two mobile wooden towers. From these they succeeded in setting a turret alight with the incendiary Greek fire and overwhelming the defenders on that part of the wall.

The next day, Friday, at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey de Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. 'The city presented a spectacle of such slaughter of enemies and shedding of blood that it struck the conquerors themselves with horror and disgust', declared the Archbishop of Tyre, unable to conceal his feelings. For three days the crusaders massacred the city's inhabitants and took immense booty. Muslim men, women and children were slain; Jews were burned in their synagogue; and seventy lamps and heavy vases of gold and silver were taken from the mosque.

The other side of the spirit of the crusade was seen that evening when the victors, barefoot and with fervent joy, visited the holy places. Everyone threw himself face down upon the ground, his arms crossed—'Each believed that he still saw before him the crucified body of Jesus Christ. And it seemed also to them that they were at the gate of heaven.'

'Defender of the Holy Sepulchre'

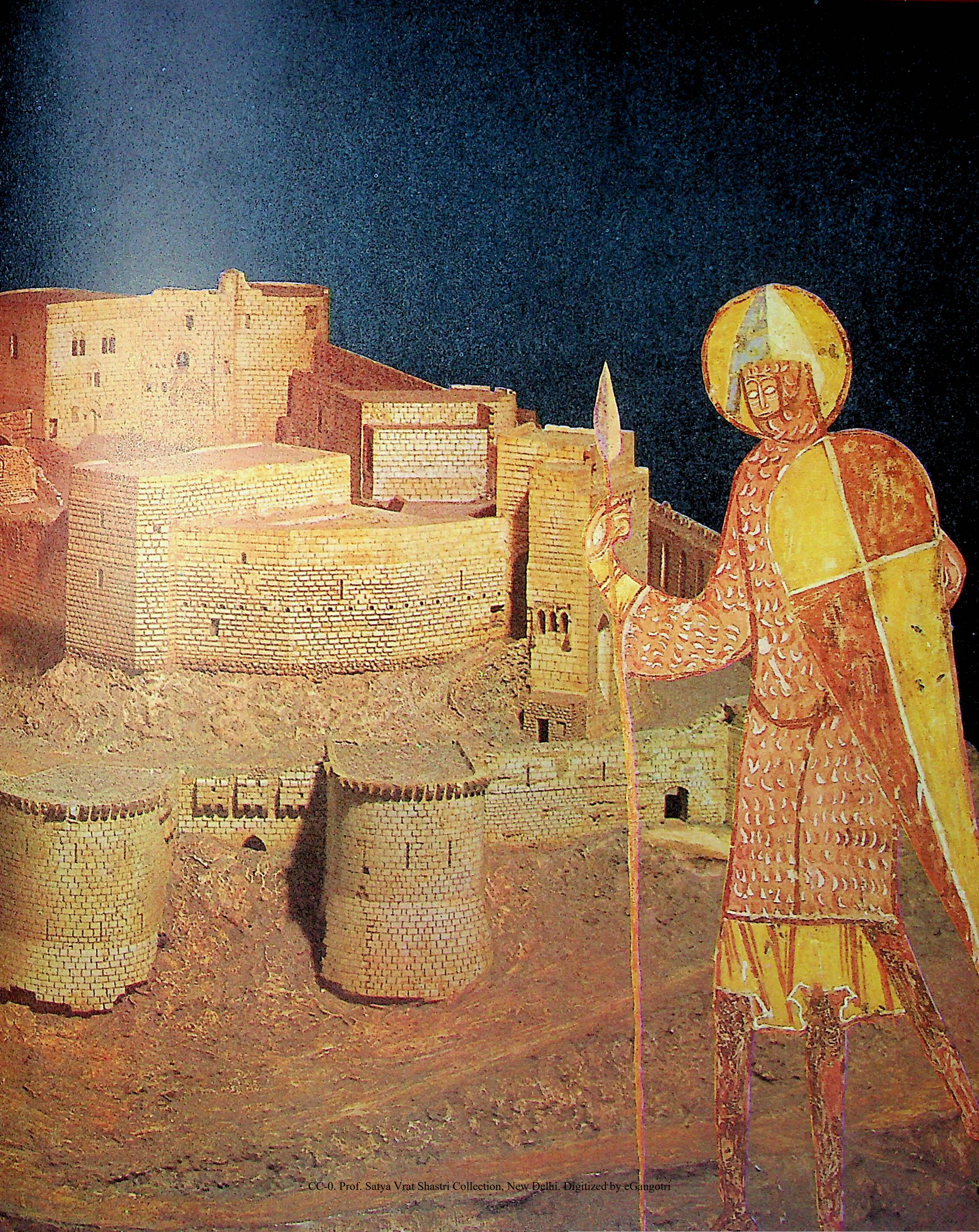
Eight days after the taking of the city, the news of which Pope Urban did not live to hear, the leaders of the crusade proceeded to elect a governor for their conquest in Palestine. Bohemond wished to remain in Antioch, while the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Normandy planned to return to Europe. Raymond of Toulouse refused election, believing that a cleric would be the only suitable head.

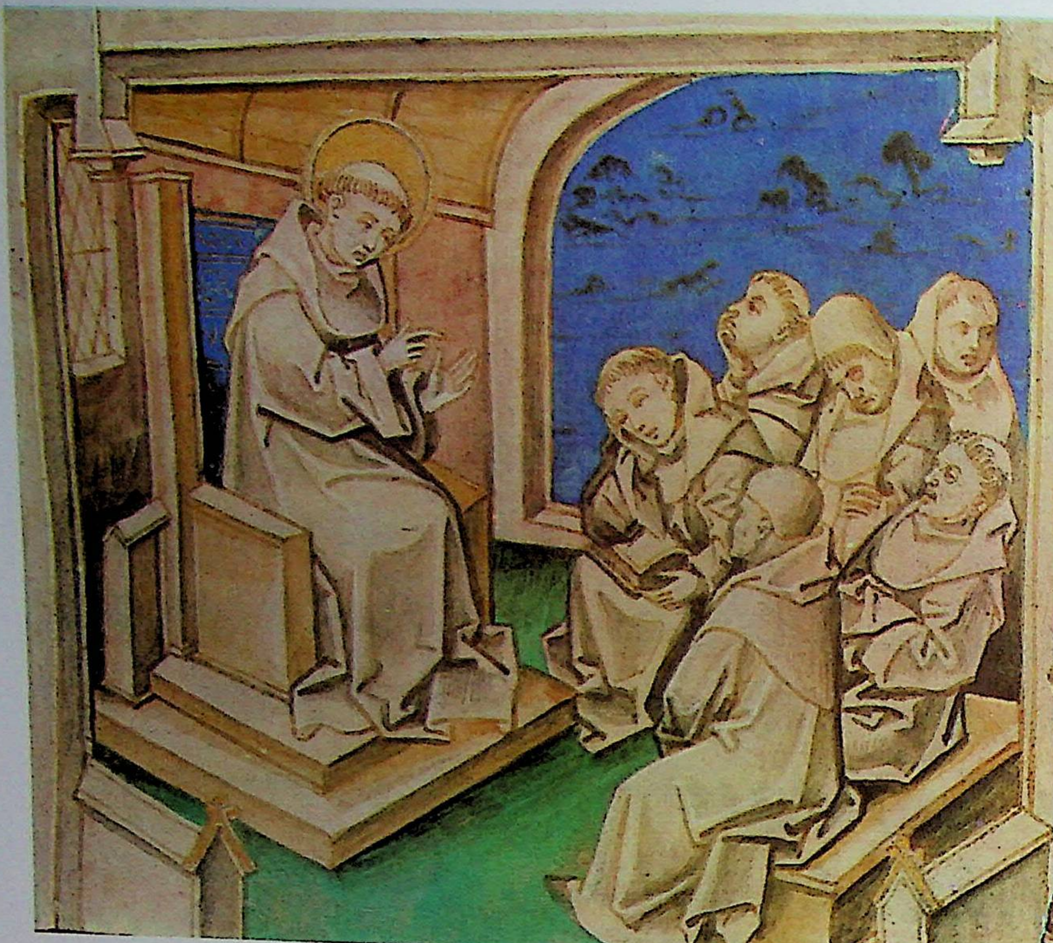
The choice then fell on Godfrey de Bouillon, who refused to accept a royal title in the city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns. He would allow himself to be called only the Defender of the Holy Sepulchre, but when he died the following year, his brother, Baldwin I, was elected in in his place, and he did not hesitate to term himself 'King of Jerusalem'.

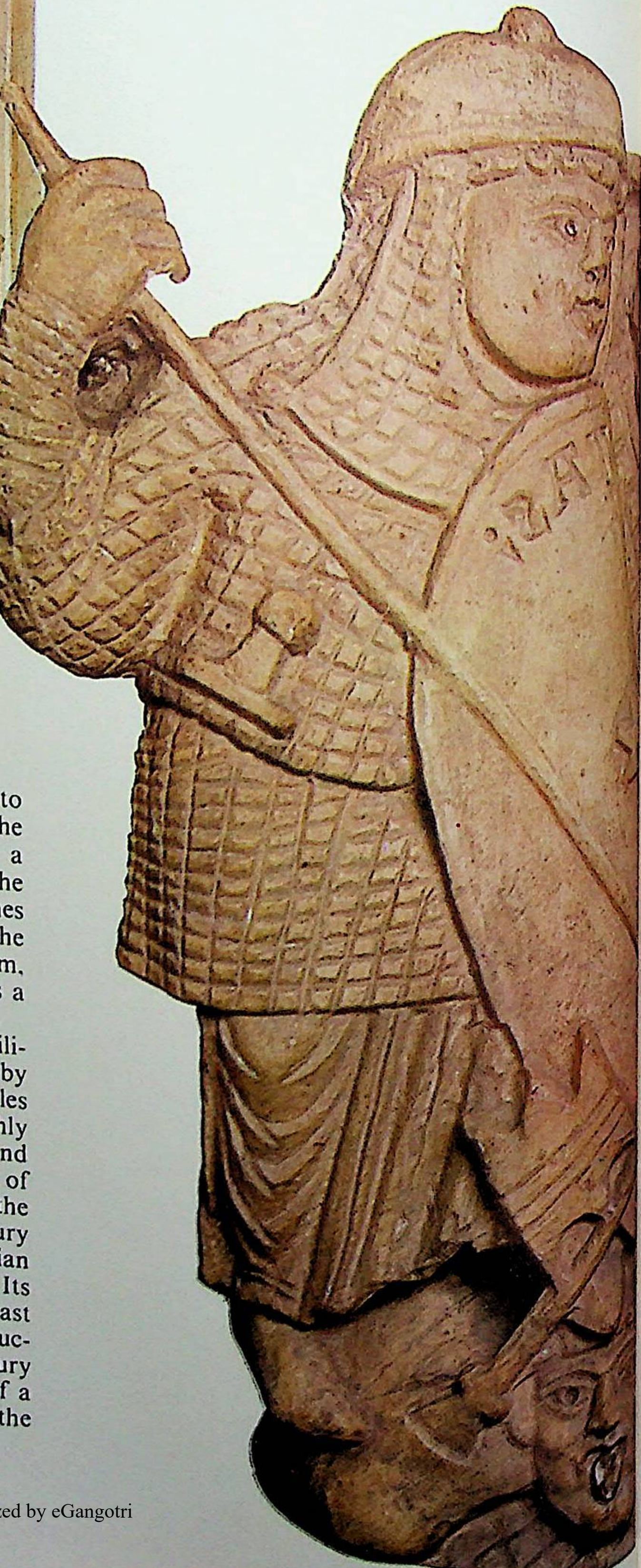
The crusaders formed from their conquests, as well as the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch and the earldoms of Edessa and Tripoli, each under a Frankish lord. These states, indeed, were organised on a feudal basis, and Palestine became almost like a European country with its churches, monasteries and castles. The states were divided into fiefs, the holders of which owed the customary homage and duties towards their rulers. The barons possessed their feudal courts, and the bishops were richly endowed and given powerful privileges. 'God has poured the west into the east', said a chronicler. 'We who were westerners are now easterners. We have forgotten our native land.'

Nevertheless, the position of the crusading states in Palestine was very weak. Most of the townspeople and peasants were Muslims, and hardly any attempt was made to convert them to Christianity. The crusaders themselves were disunited. Princes and barons, bishops and clergy, knights and merchants, all thought of their own interests. Only a few crusaders stayed in the Holy Land. Most went home after the fall of Jerusalem.

Right: Krak of the Knights, the most magnificent of the crusaders' castles. Built by the Knights Hospitallers, it withstood at least twelve sieges before capitulating in 1271 *to Sultan Baibars. Model. (Musée National des Monuments Français, Paris.) Far right: a warrior. Twelfth-century fresco. (Musée National des Monuments Français, Paris.)*







The recapture of Edessa by the Muslims brought about the Second Crusade, proclaimed in 1148 *by St Bernard (above), who was Abbot of the Cistercian monastery, Clairvaux. The king of France, Louis VII, joined the emperor Conrad III at Jerusalem (far right), but they failed dismally before Damascus. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*
Right: two knights. Plaster cast. (Musée National des Monuments Français, Paris.)

Soldier-monks and castles

The crusading states never had sufficient knights to defend them properly or to fight in open warfare. Their most valuable soldiers were the members of the two military orders. These were men who took monastic vows, but devoted themselves to a military life and made themselves responsible for the defence of a large part of the Christian territory.

The older of the two orders was that of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, which originated in a hospital founded about 1070 to care for sick pilgrims in Jerusalem and became a military organisation some fifty years later. Its members, called the Knights Hospitallers, wore a white cross on a black ground.

Their head house in England was the Hospital or Priory of St John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell in London. There was also the order of the Temple of Solomon, which had been founded in 1118 by Hugh de Payens, a knight of Champagne, to protect pilgrims on the road from the coast to Jerusalem. Its members, known as the Knights Templar, wore a red cross on a white ground and soon took to fighting the Muslims. Their houses had circular churches attached to them, as a reminder of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the Temple Church in London was a reminder of their head house in England.

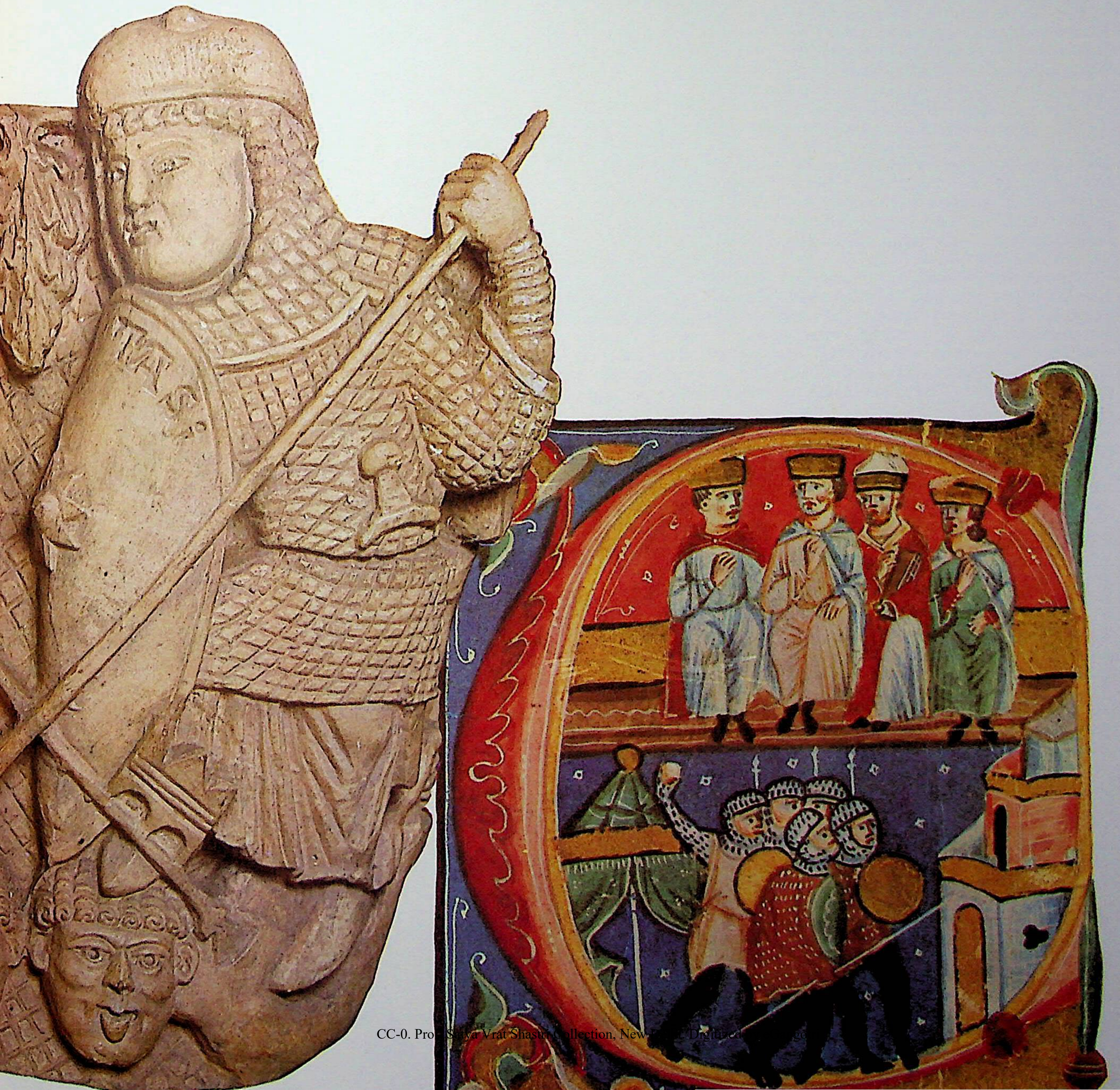
Shortage of numbers compelled the military orders to defend the Holy Land by erecting and garrisoning great stone castles in important places. These were highly developed types of castle construction and immensely strong. The most magnificent of them was Krak of the Knights built by the Knights Hospitallers in the twelfth century to guard the only pass from Christian territory to Tripoli and the coast. Its strategic position, massive walls and vast store-houses enabled it to withstand successfully at least twelve sieges. For a century and a half it remained, in the words of a Muslim chronicler, 'a bone stuck in the throat of the Saracens'.

The Second Crusade

In 1144, the Emir Zangi, a forceful Muslim chieftain from Mosul, who aimed at setting himself at the head of the disunited Muslims of the coastal areas, captured the ill-guarded town of Edessa, the northern outpost of the Christian territory. Though this exposed the crusaders' northern flank in the Holy Land, they were not alarmed. They had become used to living side by side with the Muslims, and had even made their own treaties with the local native rulers; they did not think it advisable to resume hostilities.

In Europe, however, the news of the fall of Edessa produced immediate alarm, particularly among the leaders of the Church. Islam seemed to be about to expel the Christians from the Holy Land. Pope Eugenius III entrusted the preaching of a new crusade to the most celebrated Churchman of the time, St Bernard of Clairvaux, in 1148. St Bernard had established a new Cistercian monastery at Clairvaux, which had become famous for its austerity and piety. Although he had become the counsellor of popes and kings, he never accepted any other post than that of abbot of the house he had founded. He was convinced of the righteousness of the crusade he proclaimed. 'The earth trembles and is shaken', he said, 'because the King of Heaven has lost his land, the land where once he walked.' A terrible Judgement Day awaited those who failed to take up the Cross, but to die in battle for the cause of Christ would be to gain the reward of eternal bliss.

When he delivered this awesome message, many devout men were inspired to join the ranks of the new crusading forces. Others who came forward, however, were of a different character. They were thieves, murderers, perjurors or adventurers in search of their own ends under the cloak of religious zeal. St Bernard acknowledged



this, but was not dismayed. Rather he hailed the departure of these men, saying, 'Europe rejoices to lose them and Palestine to gain them; they are useful in both ways, in their absence from here and in their presence there.'

St Bernard's eloquence also ensured that this time the crusade enjoyed royal leadership. His visit to Germany aroused an enthusiasm which carried away the Emperor Conrad III, and King Louis VII of France also joined. Nevertheless, the crusade was a complete failure. Many of the crusaders never reached the Holy Land at all. The two monarchs fell out with the Byzantines and laid fruitless siege to Damascus. Conrad returned to Germany in 1148 and Louis to France the next year. St Bernard called the failure 'an abyss so deep that I must call him blessed who is not scandalised thereby.'

The fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem

During the thirty years which followed the fiasco of the Second Crusade, the situation in the Holy Land underwent a complete and ominous transformation. For the first time the Muslims were united against the invaders and a formidable fighting force.

This achievement was due to Saladin, a Kurdish officer who rose to be Sultan of Egypt and Syria. He was a remarkable man of great character and courage. Having reduced Mesopotamia and received the homage of the Seljuk princes of Asia Minor, he devoted the rest of his life untiringly to waging a *Jihad* or holy war against the Christians, whose territory was surrounded by his dominions. He was a brave fighter and a cunning statesman, but also a chivalrous and generous warrior, who gained the admiration even of his Christian opponents. He rejected the general acceptance of the time that massacres were an inevitable part of warfare. 'Abstain from the shedding of blood', he told his captains, 'for blood that is spilt never slumbers.'

The crusaders in Palestine were too disunited to put up an effective resistance to Saladin. In 1187 he inflicted a disastrous defeat upon a force of knights, mostly Templars, in the region of Tiberias. This was the beginning of the end for the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was now practically denuded of its defenders. Saladin pursued his campaign unchecked. There were occasions when he was said to have intervened in the middle of battle to provide his opponents with ices and fresh horses so that they could continue to fight, but he still defeated them. One by one the crusaders' strongholds of Acre, Jaffa, Beirut and Ascalon fell to him.

In September his army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The city was full of Christian refugees, but few of them were soldiers. Within a fortnight the Muslims had undermined a part of the walls, and the city had to surrender. Saladin allowed its defenders to ransom themselves and granted them a safe passage back to the nearest Christian territory. The great cross was taken down from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and dragged for two days through the mire of the city's streets. The bells of the churches were melted down, and the floors and walls of the Mosque of Omar were purified with Damascene rose-water. Saladin continued his conquests until Tyre was the only town of consequence which remained to the Christians.

The Third Crusade

The news of the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the infidels caused widespread consternation in Europe and a resolve to retrieve the Holy Land. Pope Urban III died soon afterwards, and his death was attributed to grief at the Muslim victories. His successor, Gregory VIII, issued a bull proclaiming a new crusade to the East.

The old emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, summoned a council at Mainz to discuss the crusade. His bishops and barons unanimously agreed to support it after they had been addressed by the Archbishop of Tyre, who had come to Europe. The archbishop also attended a meeting in Normandy between Philip Augustus, King of France, and Henry II, King of England, and pleaded the cause of the crusade before them. Philip and Henry wept, embraced and vowed to go together to the Holy Land. Henry died in 1189, but was succeeded by his son, Richard, whose warlike spirit was keenly attracted by the idea of the campaign.

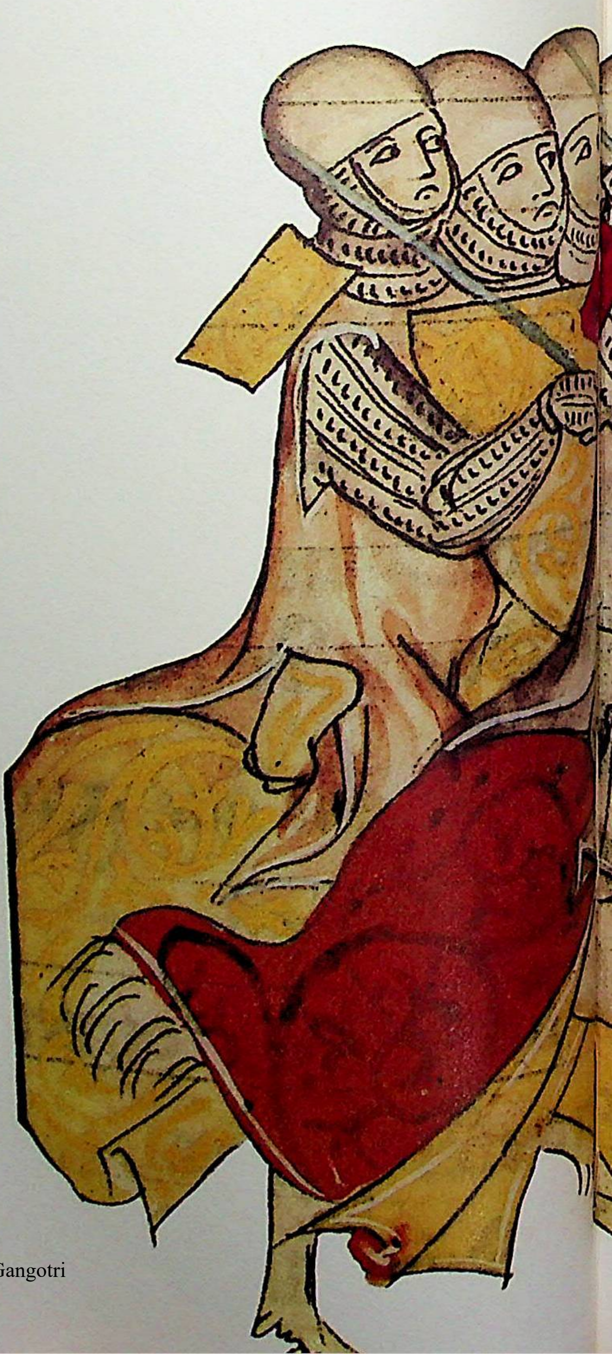
Frederick Barbarossa was the first to set out on the crusade. He left Germany with a vast army and took the overland route. He reached Asia Minor, where his soldiers suffered greatly on the march from hunger and thirst as well as from the attacks of Turkish horsemen. In 1190 he himself died of shock after bathing in a cold mountain stream. His much-depleted force reached Antioch, which it succeeded in capturing since Saladin had withdrawn most of his troops from the area.

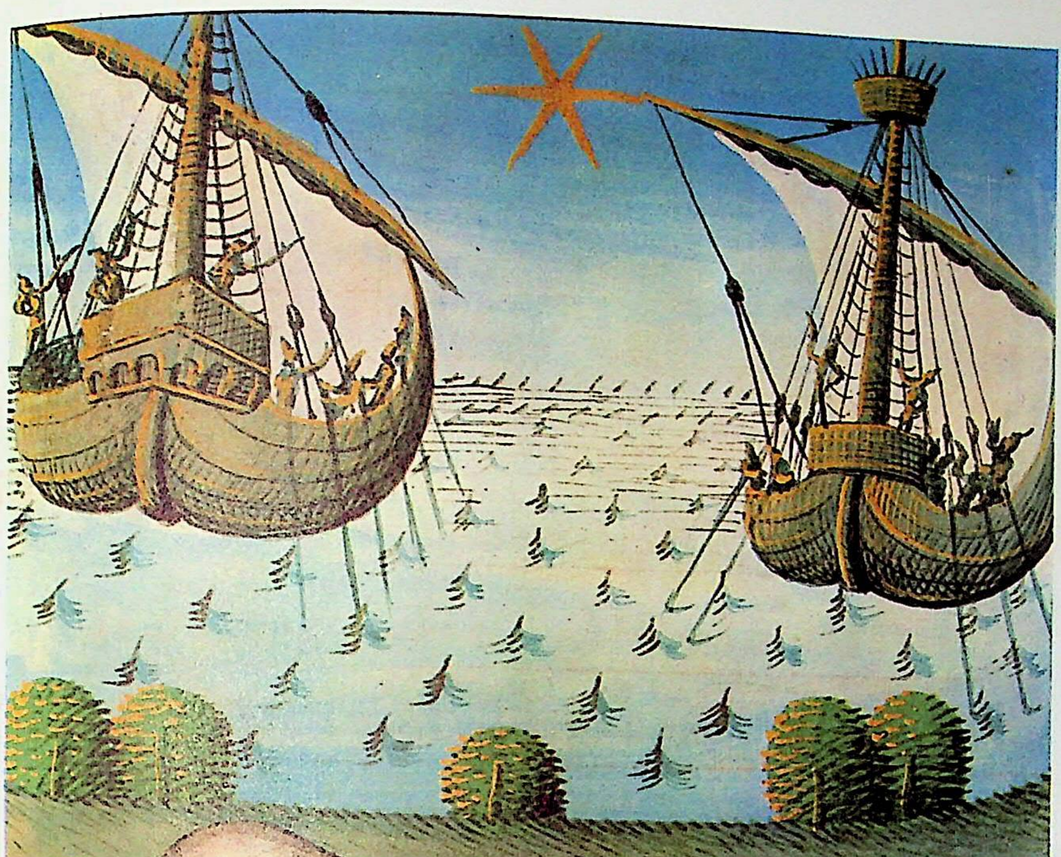
Meanwhile, the Christians in the Holy Land had at last taken the offensive and began to besiege the port of Acre, the best base from which to retake Jerusalem. They were then surrounded by Saladin, and for eighteen months besiegers, besieged and would-be-relievers fought fiercely and endured hunger and disease. By now Philip and Richard had set out separately by sea. Philip arrived first at Acre and became ill. Richard delayed to capture Cyprus from the Byzantine Empire, but on his arrival he took charge of operations and captured the town within a month in 1191.

Dissension and failure

The way to Jerusalem now lay open, but discord had already broken out among the crusaders. The Duke of Austria, angered by Richard's insistence that his own banner should be set above the duke's on the walls of Acre, had gone home. Above all, Philip and Richard had quarrelled continuously before Acre. Since Richard, as Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, was the French king's vassal, Philip considered he should accept his leadership, but Richard continually criticised and ignored him. When Philip wanted to attack Acre, Richard went to dinner; when Richard wanted to attack, Philip had a headache. Finally, Philip abandoned the crusade and returned to France, where he proceeded to invade Richard's territory.

Philip's departure, however, did not weaken Richard's resolve to continue the crusade. He led his army southwards towards Jerusalem, advancing through the sun-scorched country. His skill in battle

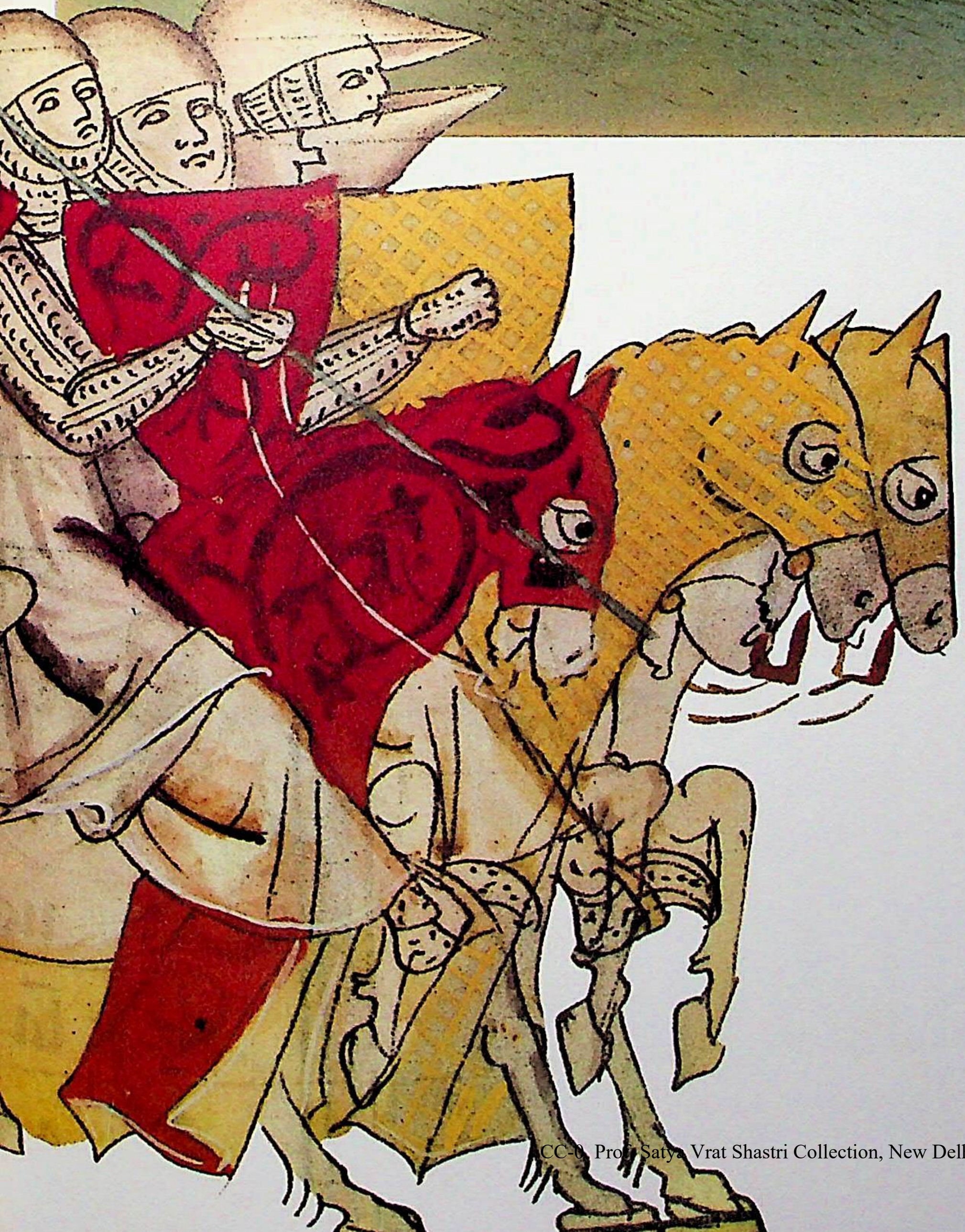




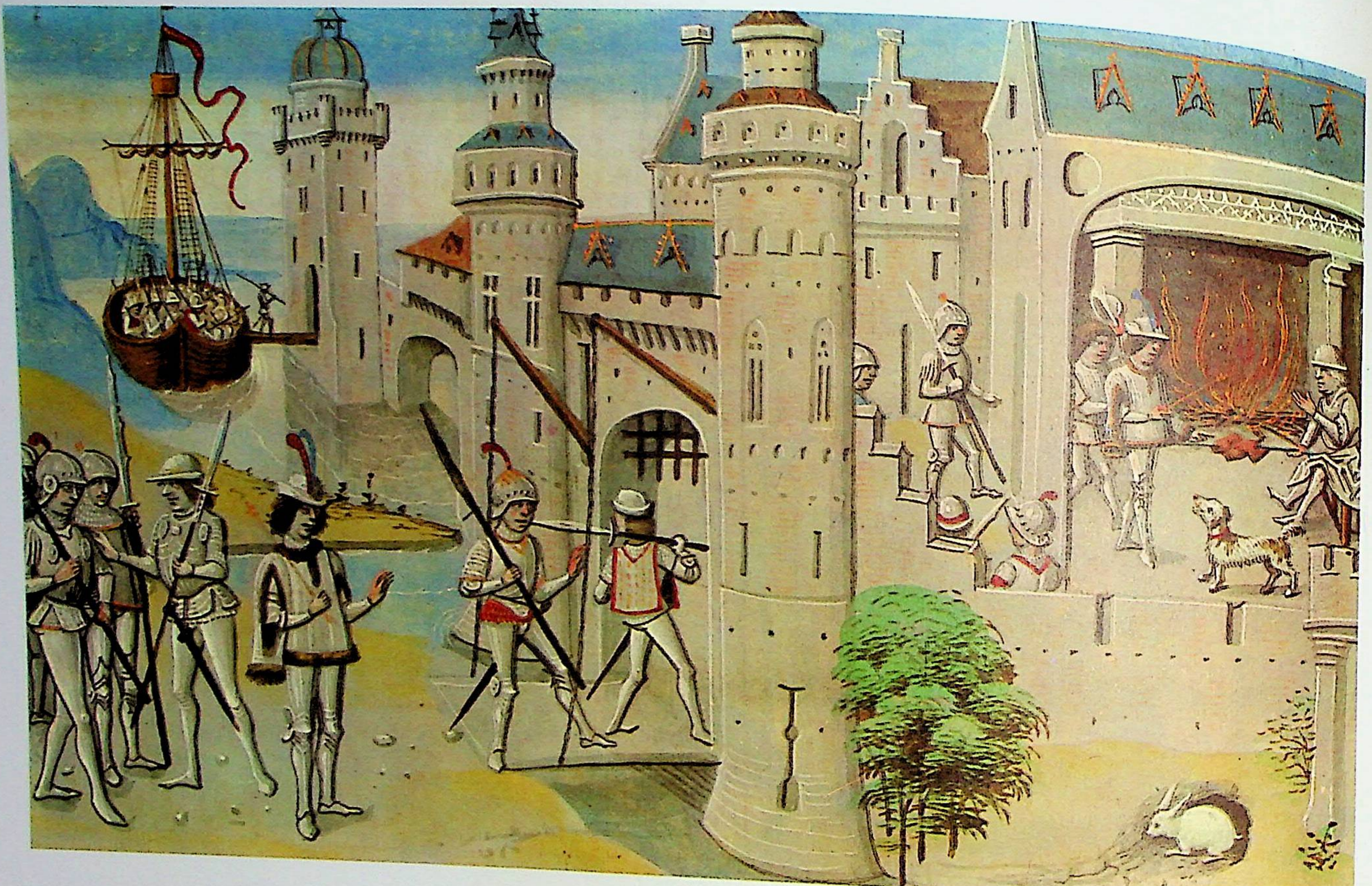
won him a victory over Saladin at Arnif which gained him the name of 'Lion-Heart'. He captured Jaffa, refortified Ascalon and before the end of the year was within a dozen miles of Jerusalem, only to have to withdraw back to the coast because he had not enough men to besiege the city.

He had established a remarkable understanding and even friendship with Saladin. Each greatly admired the other, and a writer said at the time, 'Could each be endowed with the faculties of the other, the whole world could not furnish two such princes.' The two men exchanged presents and courtesies, and when Richard's charger fell in action, Saladin sent him a new one. They also held meetings and even discussed the possibility of dividing the Holy Land.

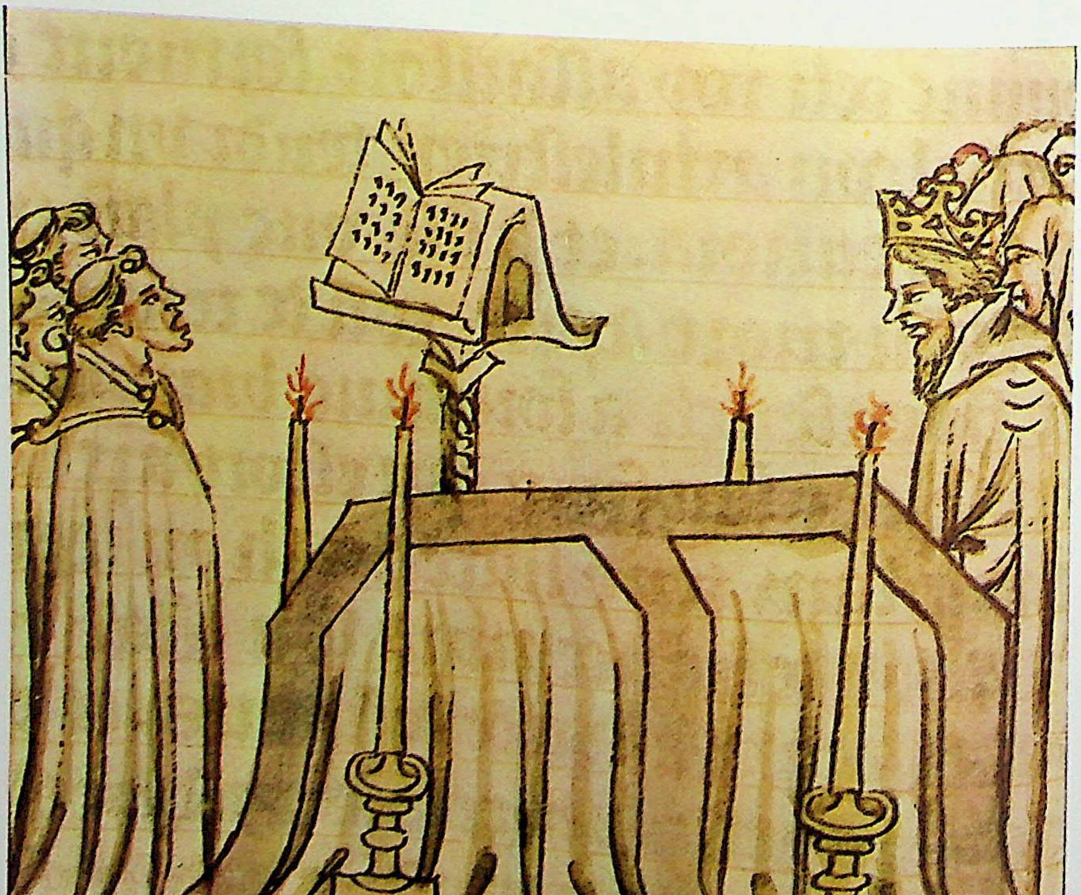
The negotiations, however, were fruitless. Richard again advanced on Jerusalem and this time got with an advance party within sight of the walls, but once more had to retreat. He won a brilliant victory at Jaffa, but had to relinquish the crusade forever. News from Europe made him anxious to



The Italian trading cities, Venice, Pisa and Genoa, made great profits from transporting the crusaders in ships such as these (above left). Moreover, they obtained privileges in the conquered Syrian ports from which merchants imported cane-sugar, brocade and silken cloth, products of India, China and Central Asia which arrived at Tripoli, Tyre and Acre.
Left: a group of mounted warriors. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



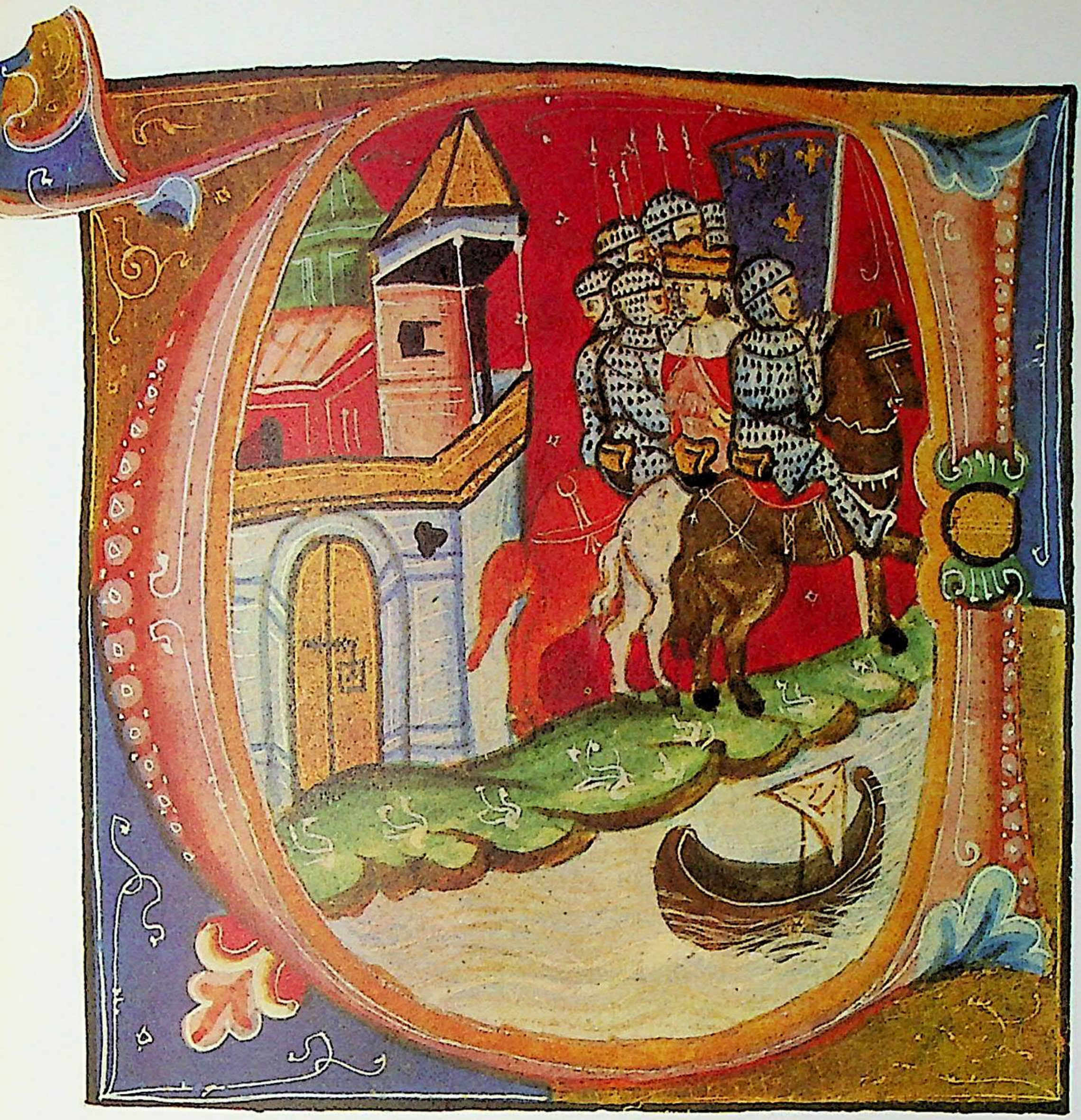
Above: Richard Lion-Heart, on his way back from the Third Crusade, was taken prisoner by the duke of Austria.
Right: the funeral ceremonies for Richard, who was buried in France. Manuscripts. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



return home. In 1192 he made a three-years' truce with Saladin by which the crusaders retained the coast from Ascalon to Acre with the right of access to Jerusalem. Small bodies of crusaders were able to visit the Holy Sepulchre on condition that they went unarmed.

Richard then set off on his journey back to England, but was not to return home until he had suffered shipwreck and captivity at the hands of the Duke of Austria. That the Third Crusade should have failed while led by the three most powerful kings of the time brought severe disillusionment to the crusading cause. The power of Islam under Saladin seemed formidable. When he died in 1193, the Muslims were downcast. 'Without Saladin', said his scribe, 'the great men perished, with him disappeared people of true worth; good deeds diminished, and bad ones increased; life became more difficult, and earth was covered with shadows; the century had its phoenix to deplore, and Islam lost its support.'

At the end of the twelfth century, the age



With the Third Crusade, proclaimed after Saladin occupied Jerusalem, national conflicts supplanted the Christian impulse. Philip Augustus returned to France. He took advantage of Richard Lion-Heart's absence to attack the Plantagenet lands in Normandy. On Richard's return only his death saved the French king from defeat. Above: knights departing for the Crusades. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

of the crusades seemed to be over. The great hope of delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel had been eclipsed by the national struggles of the West. The Latins and Byzantines were equally divided by enmity.

The crisis of the Church

In 1198 Innocent III became pope. He was confronted by a difficult situation for the Church. The empire was still able to assert itself against the papacy, and secular rulers still managed to control the appointment of bishops. Jerusalem continued to be held by the Muslims. Most of the lower clergy were not celibate, and the monastic orders, including even the Cistercians, were losing their zeal and becoming wealthy. The beliefs of the Cathari were spreading, while criticism of the Church and anti-clericalism were common among lay people.

The answer to this situation, Innocent believed, lay in the assertion and effective use of papal authority. The pope must enforce recognition of his position as Vicar of Christ from all in Christendom, however exalted, and his bishops and other agents must impose necessary reforms and restore the respect and effectiveness of the Church. He set out to secure these aims determinedly and forcibly. In the course of his pontificate of eighteen years he punished with excommunication or interdict two rival emperors and seven kings, among them King John of England.

The origins of the Fourth Crusade

Innocent realised, however, that the assertion of authority and the promulgation of reform was not in itself enough to revive the Church. This would be of no avail unless there were also a renewal of Christian fervour among both clergy and people which would restore to religion the place it had formerly occupied in the life of Europe. He could think of no other way of doing this than resorting to a crusade in the traditional medieval manner. He decided to preach a Fourth Crusade himself in the belief that a renewed attempt to gain the Holy Land for Christendom would be bound to revive the old crusading spirit. Moreover, since there was now no emperor or king likely to be able to assume control of the expedition, he hoped that he would be more successful in directing this crusade than any of his predecessors had been in the previous enterprises.

Events, however, quickly proved that Innocent was entirely mistaken. The enterprise was begun in 1199 by a group of enthusiastic noblemen in northern France, led by Boniface, Marquess of Montferrat. Though they were zealously helped by papal preachers, they were motivated, not by religious feeling, but rather by personal ambition for wealth and power.

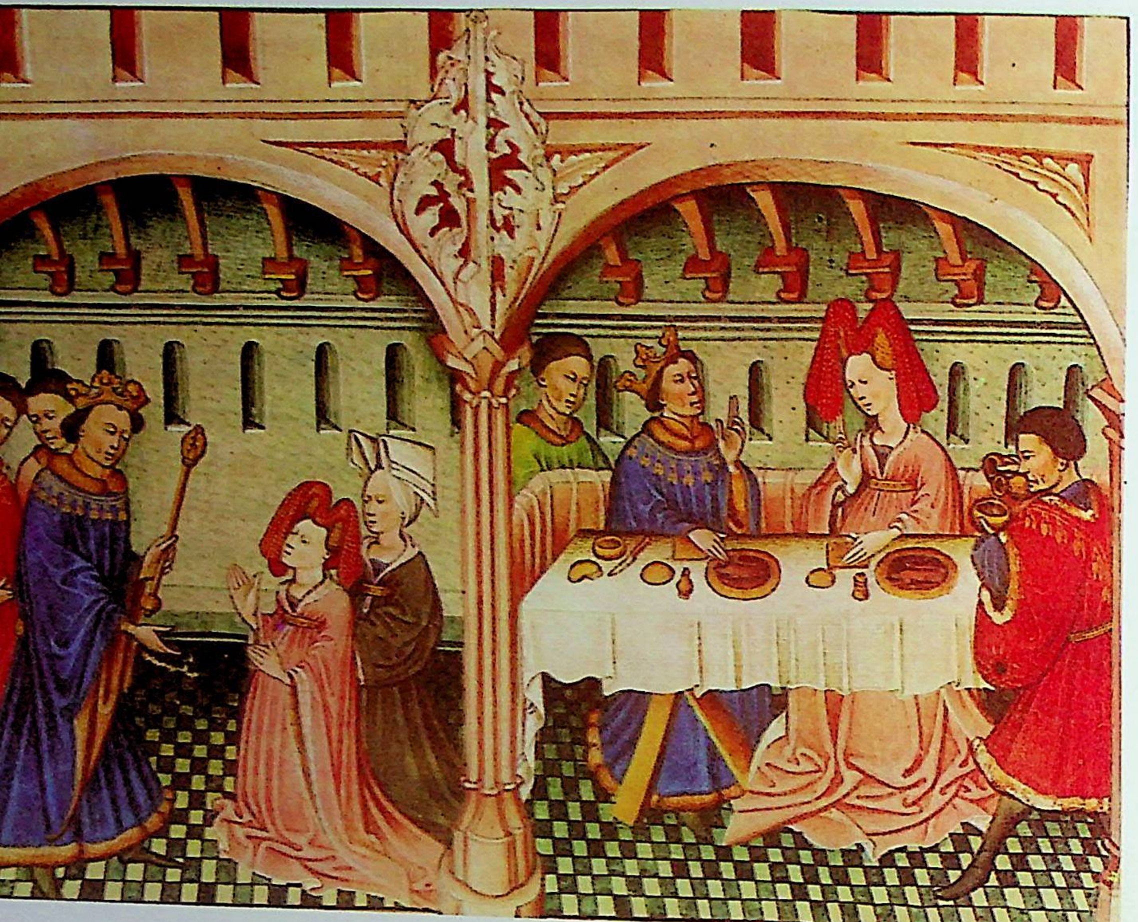
Conveyance by sea was needed, and this had to be obtained from the Italian maritime cities—Venice, Pisa and Genoa. These cities had already gained enormous riches from constructing ships and transporting the crusaders and had also obtained commercial bases in the leading Syrian ports and built up a large carrying trade. Of these cities, Venice had prospered most and could best provide what the crusaders needed.

To Venice the crusaders, therefore, turned. By April 1201 their envoys had concluded the negotiations with the rulers of the city, who showed themselves to be hard businessmen. The sum of 85,000 silver marks, paid in advance, was required for the hire of ships and provisions. The Venetians announced also that they would join the crusade, and the Doge himself, though old and quite blind, sewed the Cross on to his 'great cotton hat' as a sign of their earnestness and good faith. In return for their participation, they required an equal share in the direction of the crusade and half of any conquests it might make in the future.

The sack of Constantinople

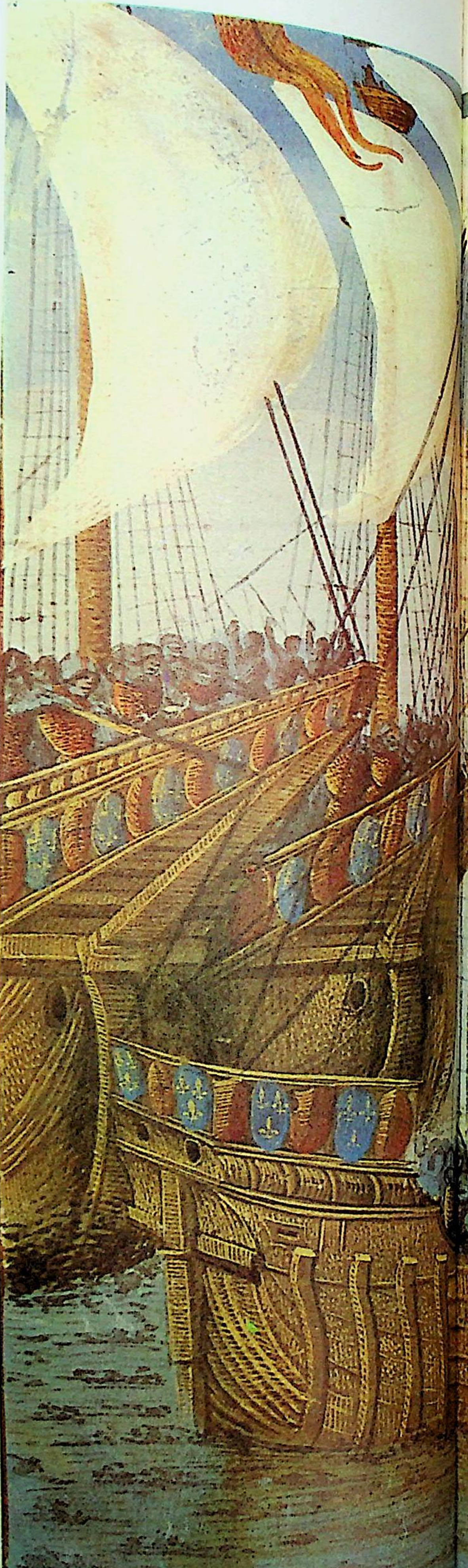
When the crusading armies were assembled in Venice in August 1202, they could not raise funds to pay the agreed sum to the Venetian government, which managed to intern them on a small island in the lagoon. There they were given the choice either of paying or of conquering for the Venetians the Christian town of Zara, on the Adriatic coast, from the King of Hungary. The crusaders discharged their debt by storming Zara, which completed Venetian domination over the Adriatic.

Pope Innocent III was indignant at this disgraceful diversion of the crusade. At first he excommunicated the whole army, but later forgave them, only to discover that the crusade was again diverted. The young Byzantine prince, Alexius, offered them money, supplies and troops if they would re-



Above: the Fourth Crusade was diverted against Constantinople. Its leader was Boniface, marquess of Montferrat, seen here dining with his wife before his departure. After a king Zara, the crusaders set out for Constantinople on terms offered by the deposed emperor, Isaac Angelus. Miniature. (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris.)

Right: the Venetian fleet, which transported them, arrived in the Bosporus in July 1203. Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



establish on the throne his father, Isaac Angelus, who had been deposed by his brother, Alexius III. The crusaders accepted and sailed for Constantinople, reaching the Bosporus in July 1203. They captured the city without difficulty. Isaac and his son were made joint emperors, but were unable to meet the terms they had promised to their benefactors.

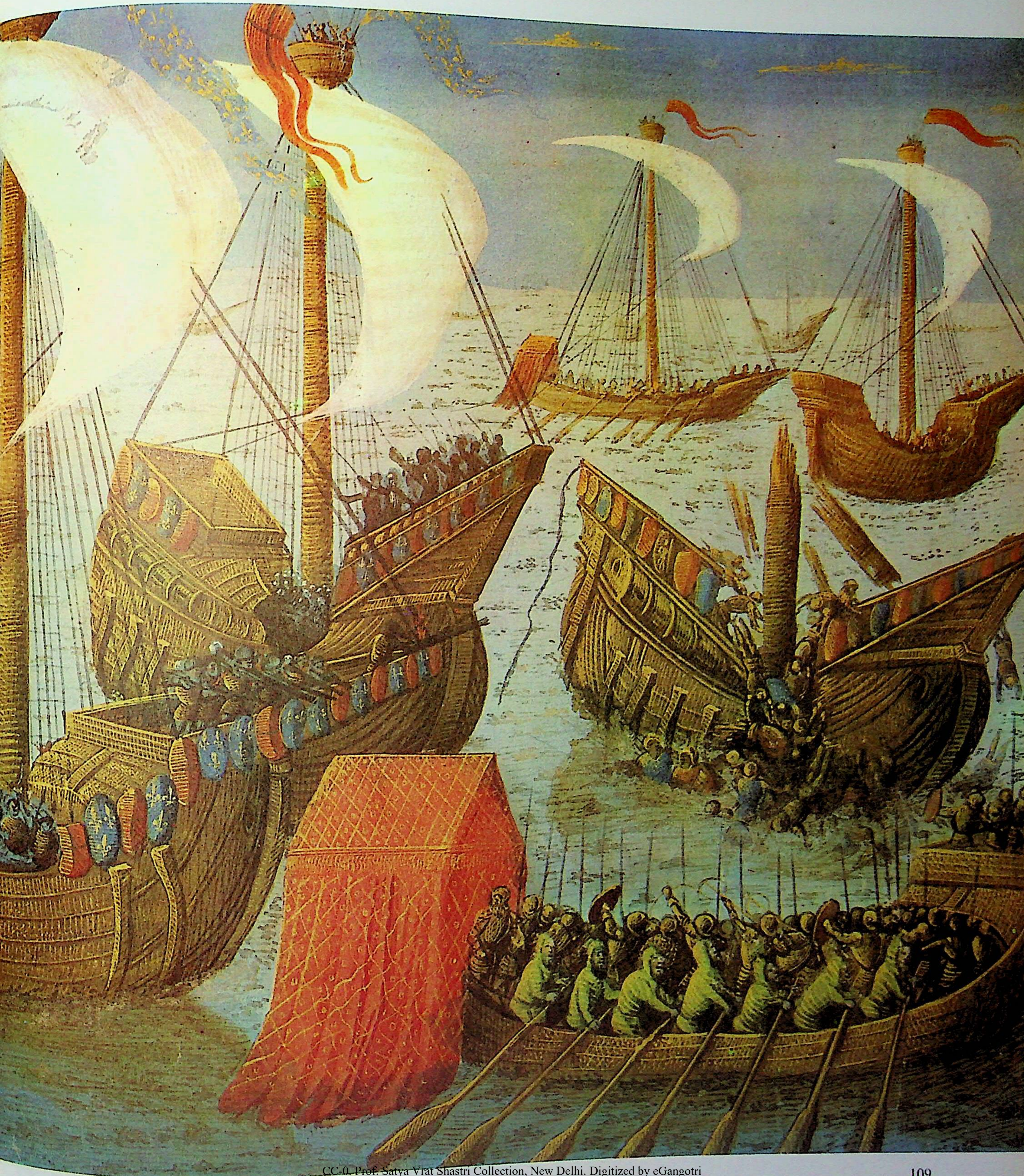
The crusaders and Venetians decided to sack Constantinople in 1204. Towers were erected on the decks of their ships, the attacking parties crossed on ladders, gained the walls and broke into the city. For three days it was sacked. Priceless treasures were lost, manuscripts were burnt, and paintings were destroyed. Many metal statues, some of which dated from ancient times, were melted down for weapons and armour. Four famous bronze horses were taken to Venice, where they may still be seen above the portico of St Mark's Cathedral.

The division of the empire

When the booty had been shared, the Byzantine Empire itself was divided. Count Baldwin of Flanders was elected by the crusaders as the first 'Latin Emperor of the East', but the Venetians took a quarter of Constantinople with the shore of the Bosporus and the Propontis, most of the islands of the Aegean and valuable towns and coastlands round the Balkan peninsula. Venice also took over most of the trade that had formerly gone through Constantinople. So the Fourth Crusade ended without a single soldier reaching Palestine.

Pope Innocent III at first indignantly condemned the capture of Constantinople, but he was induced to change his mind and accept the situation when the Latin Empire was established, because it was accompanied by the appointment of a Venetian as a Latin Patriarch in Constantinople who accepted the authority of the Pope. Innocent now regarded it as a miraculous event which would undo the Great Schism and re-unite Christendom under himself.

These hopes, however, were not to be realised. The crusaders were too few to hold their conquests for long, and in 1261 their Latin Empire came to an end, and so did papal authority in Constantinople. In fact, the failure of the papacy to exercise control at any stage over the Fourth Crusade seriously diminished its prestige and authority: the final consequence of the whole episode was to destroy the effectiveness of the Byzantine Empire as a bulwark against Islam and to embitter further, instead of healing, the differences between eastern and western Christendom.



The Children's Crusade

Eight years after the sacking of Constantinople, there occurred the strange and tragic episode of the Children's Crusade of 1212. It is difficult to disentangle history and legend from the surviving records which mention this, but it seems that bands of children, some thousands strong in all, gathered in France and western Germany and set out to march on a crusade with the intention of reaching the Holy Land and 'recapturing Jerusalem'.

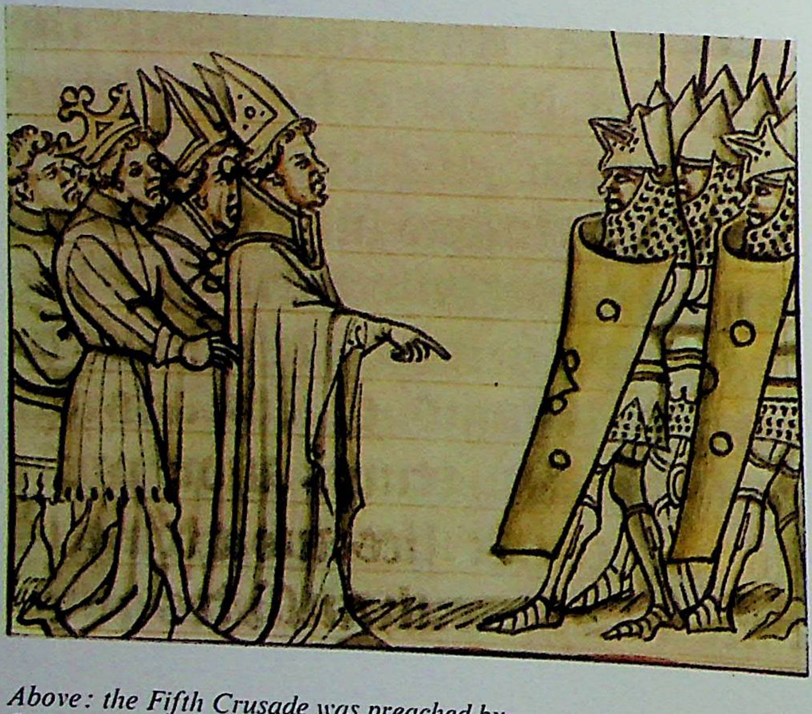
It also seems clear that only a few of the children ever returned to their homes. Many perished from hunger and disease as they wandered across Europe. The few surviving parties of French children, who got as far as Marseilles and other southern ports were lured by merchants aboard their ships and sold as slaves. Many of the German children died during their journey through the Alps, and none got any further than Italy. Those who reached Brindisi were persuaded by its bishop to go home. As they struggled back, however, some were taken as servants by peasants and townspeople, and some of the girls were seized for Roman brothels. The historical basis of the story of the 'Pied Piper of Hamelin' is apparently to be found in this Children's Crusade, which came to an end in the same disastrous manner as the People's Crusade, which had immediately preceded the First Crusade.

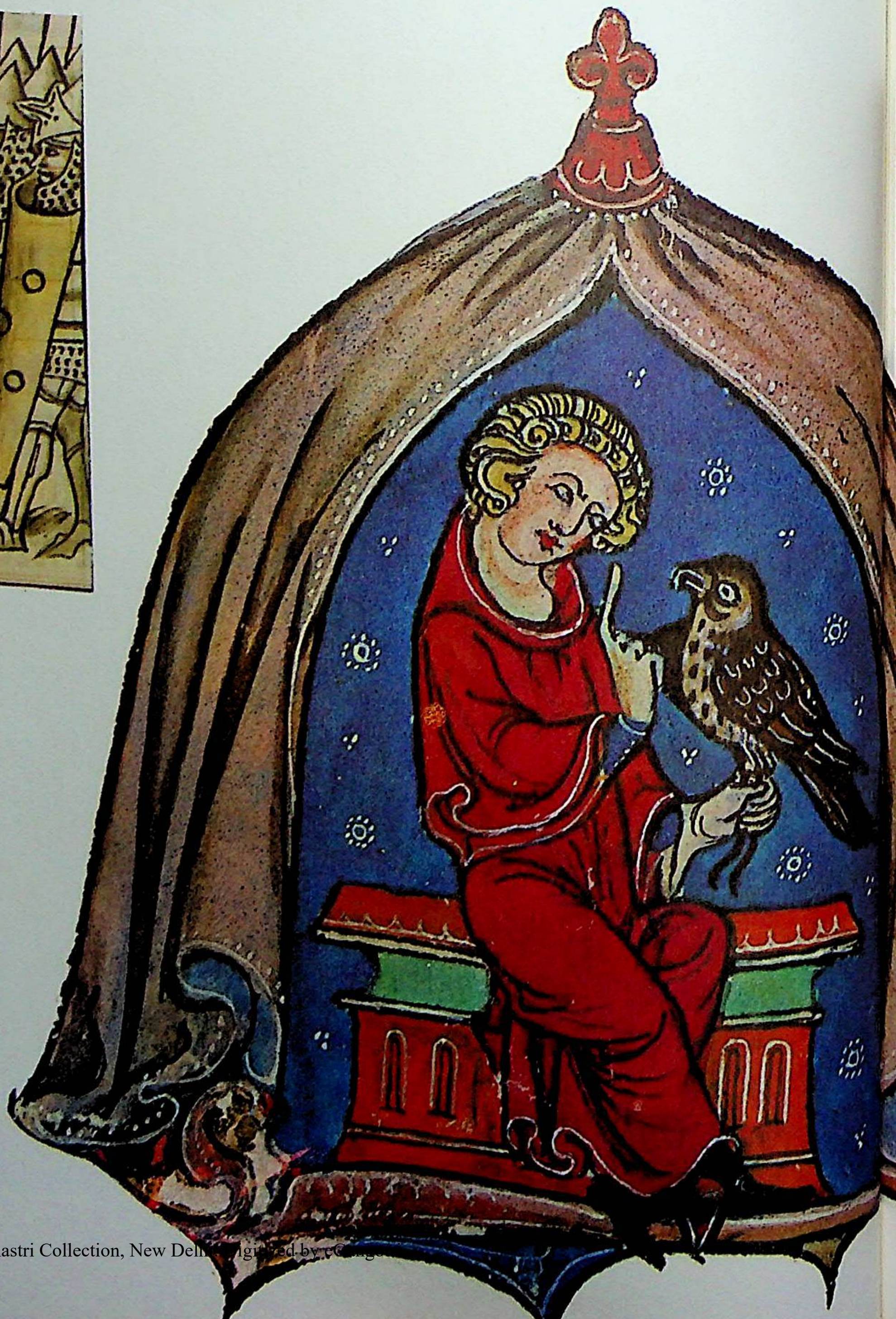
The Fifth Crusade

Though the crusades dragged on for more than eighty years longer, the crusading spirit was now all but dead. Pope Innocent III is reputed to have said of the Children's Crusade, 'These children shame us. While we are asleep, they march forth joyously to conquer the Holy Land'; and at the great Lateran Council of 1215 he proclaimed a fresh crusade which was to start on 1 June 1217. The next year, however, he died, and few plans had been made.

Since the Christian states in western Europe were at hopeless variance, and a renewed and more serious struggle between the papacy and the empire was imminent, there was, indeed, little hope that Christendom would take effective action against the reviving power of Islam. Innocent's successor, Pope Honorius III decided to make one more effort to liberate Jerusalem. In 1217 he persuaded the King of Hungary and the Duke of Austria to take an army to Egypt, which John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem and actual ruler of the little Christian state in the Holy Land, was proposing to invade.

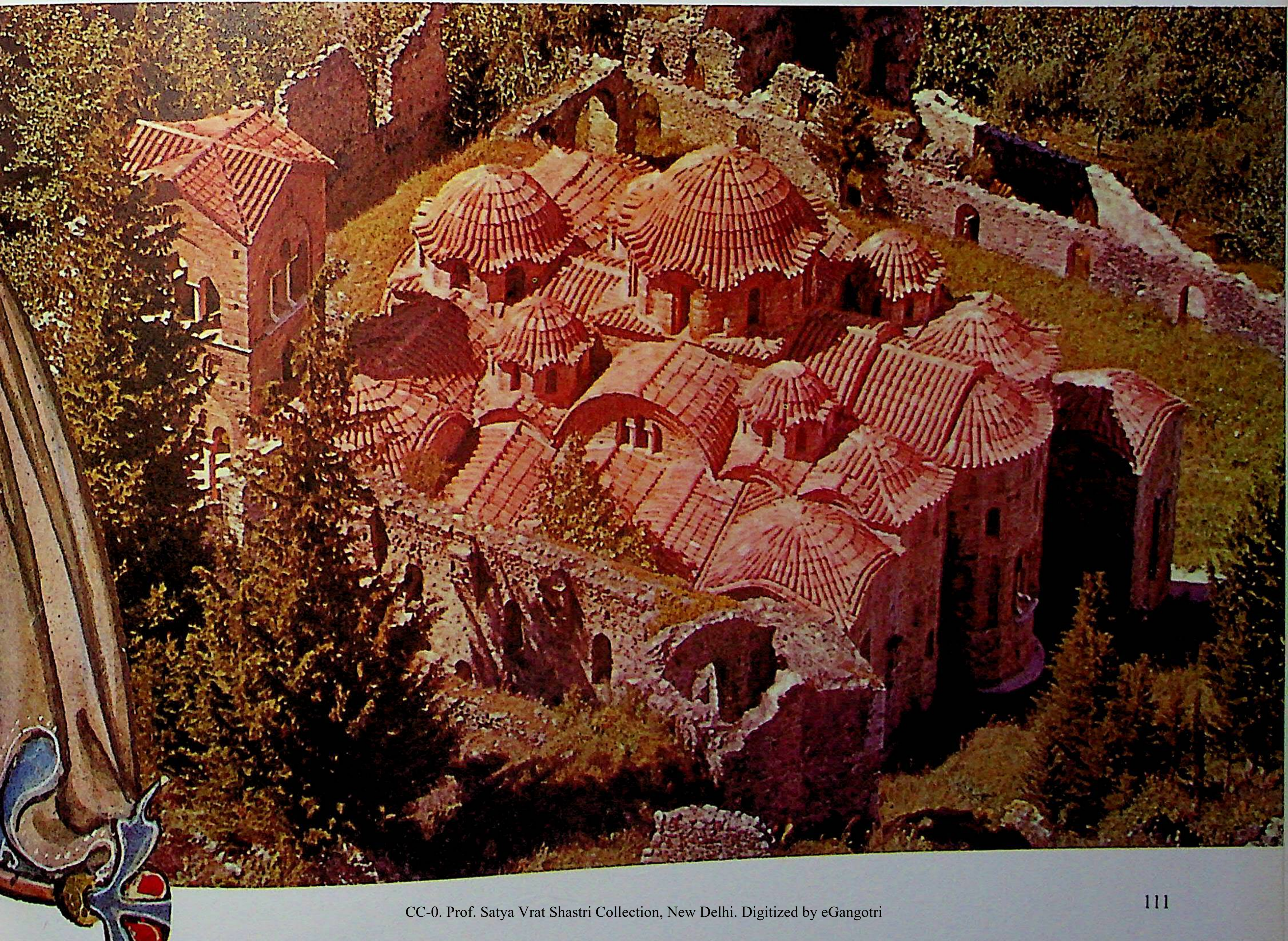
Some 300 German ships took the crusaders to Acre in the autumn of 1217. After a lengthy siege, they took Damietta at one of the mouths of the Nile in November 1219. They seemed now to be in a strong position,

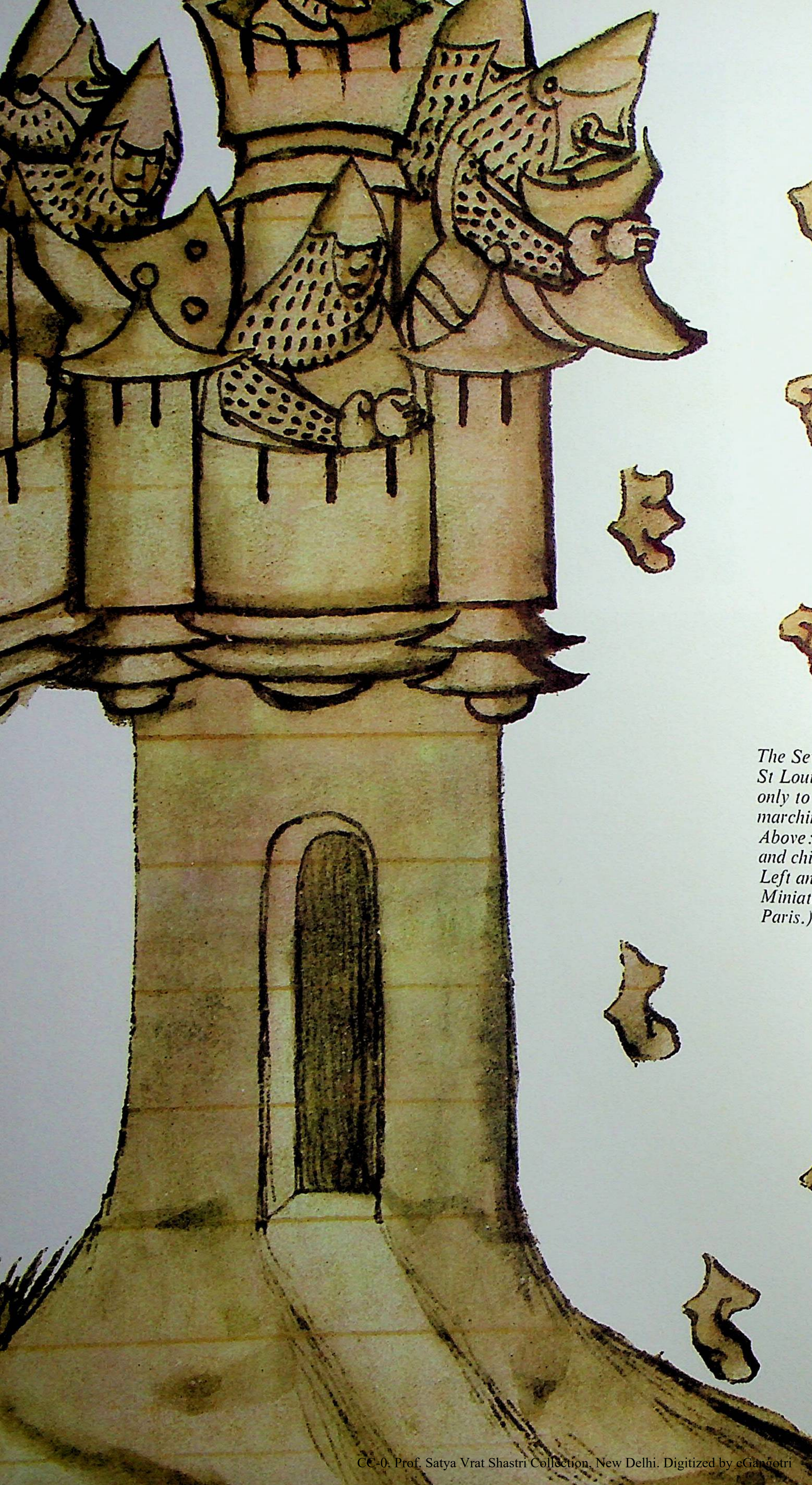


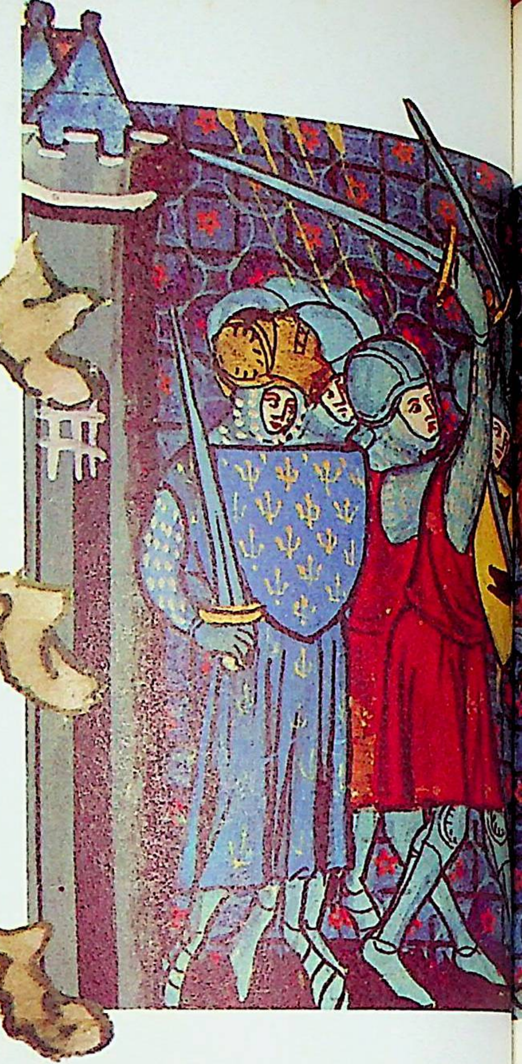


Above: the Fifth Crusade was preached by Pope Honorius III. John of Brienne waged war in Egypt and for a time held Damietta in the delta of the Nile (1219). Miniature. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Right: the Sixth Crusade was led by the excommunicated emperor, Frederick II, who in 1229 secured by treaty possession of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jaffa and Jerusalem.

Two examples of crusading architecture in the East: (right) the hospital of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem at Rhodes, and (below) Mistra in the Peloponnese, capital of the Latin Principality of the Morea, ruled by Geoffrey of Villehardouin.







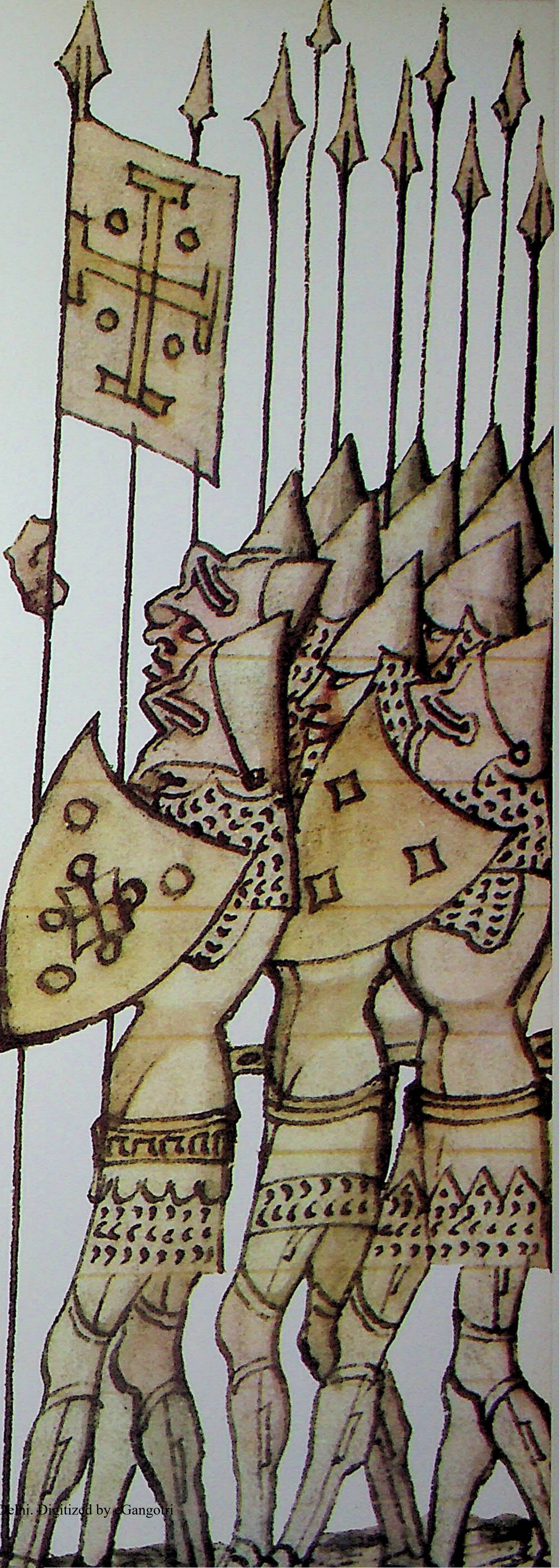
The Seventh Crusade (1249) was led by St Louis, who again captured Damietta, only to be routed and captured when marching on Cairo.
Above: St Louis protecting Muslim women and children during a battle.
Left and right: an attack on a fort. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

and the Sultan of Egypt offered them all the Holy Places, the True Cross and the western half of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as far as the River Jordan, if they would leave Egypt and make peace. The offer was rejected because the military orders considered that the territory assigned to them by the sultan was indefensible, and also because the papal legate held that Christians might never make permanent peace with infidels.

The crusaders hoped they might conquer the whole of Egypt, but they achieved no further successes; and in the summer of 1221 the sultan threatened their position by flooding the low-lying lands of the Nile basin. They had to sue for peace. The sultan agreed to arrange for their evacuation and to give them the True Cross. So the Fifth Crusade ended, though not in tragedy, yet in complete failure. The crusaders did not even get the True Cross. The sultan could not find it. The Greek clergy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had presumably hidden it.

The Sixth Crusade

In many ways, the Sixth Crusade was the strangest of all. No pope gave it his blessing, nor was it undertaken from religious motives. Its leader was the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, the grandson of Barbarossa. He did indeed succeed in regaining Jerusalem, but by treaty with the Muslim rulers of Egypt rather than as a knight of the Cross. Frederick succeeded to the Sicilian kingdom at the age of four. During his minority,



Pope Innocent III acted as his guardian and obtained in return from Frederick, when he came of age in 1216, acknowledgment of the papal overlordship in Sicily. Honorius III, in his turn, when he crowned him as emperor in St Peter's, Rome in 1220, exacted from him promises that he would uphold the rights of the Church and go on a crusade. Such heavy obligations to the papacy did not, however, prevent Frederick taking an independent attitude and being quite as determined as his predecessors to assert his independence.

Frederick was a very unusual monarch. He spoke fluently in German, French, Italian and Arabic and read both Latin and Greek with perfect understanding. He had studied the ancient philosophers as well as contemporary writings on geography, medicine and the sciences. Such attainments had gained him the nickname of the 'wonder of the world'.

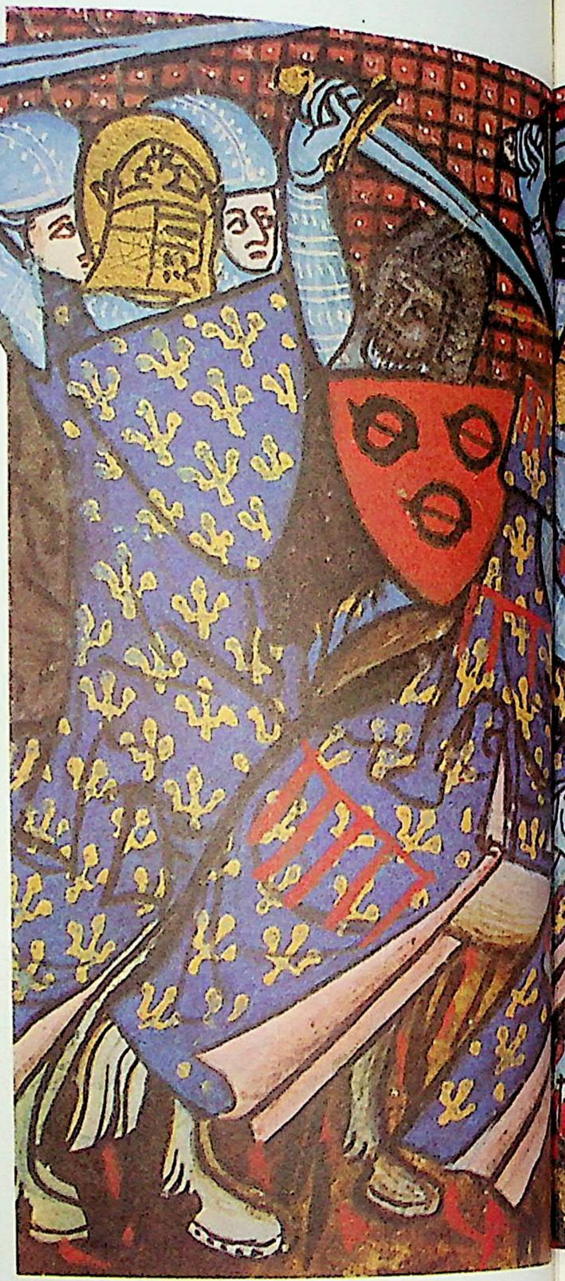
His activities increasingly alarmed the papacy. He seemed to be lukewarm and even sceptical in matters of religion. Having been brought up in Sicily, where Arabs were still numerous, he preferred to live as a Muslim ruler, possessing a troupe of Muslim dancing girls and a large harem, guarded by eunuchs, at Palermo. The main object of his policy was to conquer northern Italy, which the papacy saw as a threat to its independence. Finally, Gregory IX, who became pope in 1227, excommunicated him for his failure to keep his crusading vow.

Frederick, however, chose his own time for the crusade and his own way of undertaking it. Still under sentence of excommunication, he sailed with a small army for Acre in September 1228. He met with a very indifferent reception from the Christian barons in Palestine. The grand masters of the military orders forbade their members to obey him, and the friars openly preached against him. Frederick ignored them and entered into discussions with the Sultan of Egypt. He knew that the sultan was facing family dissensions and feared new Turkish invasions from the East.

After lengthy negotiations, emperor and sultan signed the Treaty of Jaffa in February 1229. This granted Frederick Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem and Nazareth. By right of marriage with the daughter and heiress of John of Brienne, he claimed to be king of Jerusalem, but had to place the crown upon his own head in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre since no priest came to the shrine for the ceremony. When he embarked at Acre for Europe, his new subjects gathered in the streets to pelt him with filth.

The Seventh Crusade

Jerusalem, however, was again not to remain long in Christian possession. Frederick's attention was entirely given to the renewed struggle between the empire and the papacy which divided Europe. The older crusading barons ignored the representatives of the imperial government in Jerusalem. The Christian territory in the Holy Land became little more than a confederation of feudal domains and commercial cities. The Sultan of Egypt in 1244 made an alliance with the Turks and recaptured Jerusalem.



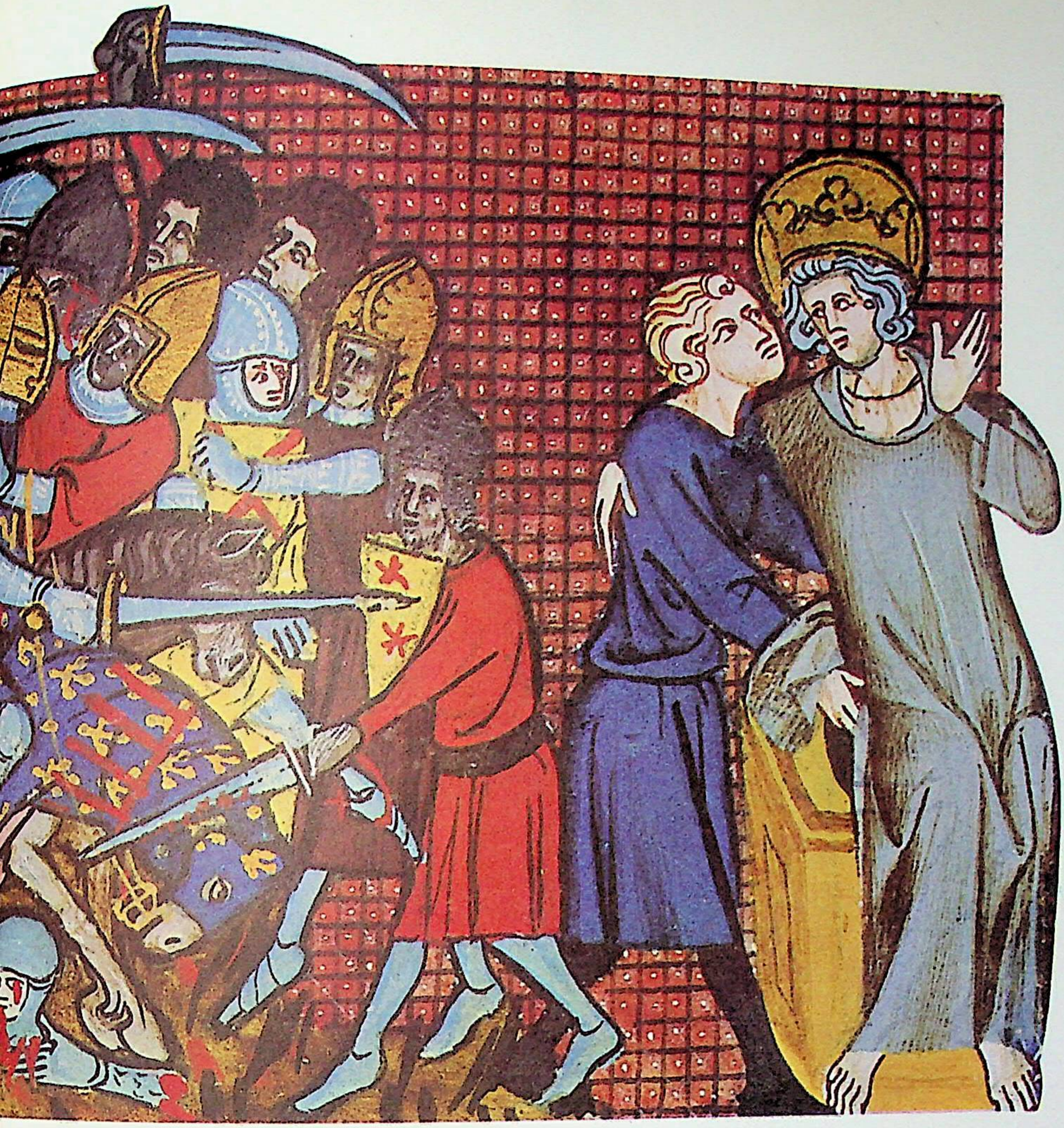
Right: after the Battle of Mansurah, shown here the last sultan, Ayub, was killed by his Turkish mercenary guards, the Mamelukes. St Louis possessed the religious fervour which had inspired the First Crusade. However, he was no more than an isolated and almost anachronistic exception. Below: the king is shown adoring sacred relics in a church. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

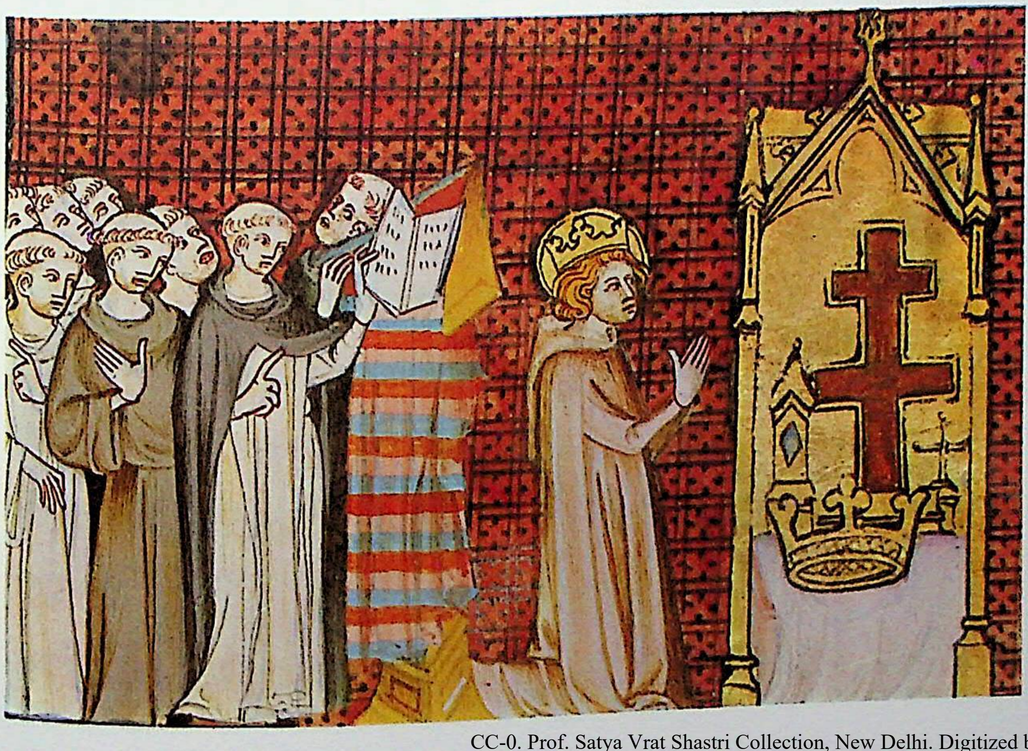
The next year, Innocent IV, who had become pope in 1243, summoned the Council of Lyons to deal with what, in his opening sermon, he called the five wounds of the Church. These were the sinful lives of many of the clergy and people, the danger from the Saracens, the continuance of the Great Schism between eastern and western Christendom, the invasion of Hungary by the Tartars and the rupture between the papacy and Frederick II. The Council formally deposed Frederick. It also ordered the preaching of a crusade against the heathen in the Holy Land.

Little attention was given to the decisions of the Council. There would have been no Seventh Crusade had it not been for St Louis. He alone was able to rise superior to the factions which divided Christendom and threatened it with ruin. When the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Europe, St Louis was desperately ill in Paris. He vowed that if he recovered from his sickness, he would himself go on a crusade to retrieve this disaster. While the pope and emperor battled for political power, he gathered his forces for the enterprise. His preparations were so thorough that his expedition was not ready to set out until August 1248.

This crusade was remarkably similar to the Fifth; it was undertaken with the same aims, pursued with the same ignorance and came to the same disastrous conclusion. St Louis was persuaded to go to Egypt and fight its sultan, whose defeat would restore the Holy City to Christian possession. Once again Damietta was attacked and captured in 1249. St Louis took a prominent part in the assault on the town and inspired courage in others, but he allowed himself to be advised badly and led a force on against Cairo. His men also were caught in the flooded streams of the Nile delta. They were surrounded and defeated at Mansurah in 1250 and compelled to surrender.

St Louis and his followers were released after evacuating Damietta and paying a large ransom. Most of the noblemen, including the King's brothers, returned to France, but he remained in Acre with a small army. For four years he stayed in the Holy Land, trying to obtain favourable treatment for the Christian prisoners in Egypt and trying also to gain support for yet another attempt on Jerusalem. The crusading barons, though of French descent, would not listen to him and nor would the leaders of the military orders. Attempts to gain fresh armies from Europe were equally unavailing. In 1254 the news of the death of his mother, Queen Blanche, compelled him to return to France. King Henry III of England was also menacing his realm. All he had been able to do was to secure some strengthening of the fortifications of the most important Syrian seaports. The Christian recapture of Jerusalem was as far off as ever.





The Eighth Crusade

The Christian cause was now being lost far more in Europe than in Egypt or Palestine. The popes were determined to bring about the destruction of the power of the empire. After Frederick II died in 1250, the popes involved themselves in a policy which was destined to destroy their influence by inviting Prince Charles of Anjou, the ambitious brother of St Louis, to conduct the campaign against the empire. He defeated the imperial army at Tagliacozzo in 1268, became King of Sicily and attempted to make himself powerful in Italy and the Mediterranean. Such a situation thwarted all hopes of uniting Europe in a crusade.

Meanwhile, the military power of Egypt was steadily increasing. The Mamelukes, the Turkish soldiers who formed the bodyguard of the sultans, revolted, and in 1260 one of their number, Baibars, became sultan. First he attacked the Mongols, the fierce Asiatic race who had been advancing westwards, and drove them across the Euphrates. Then he relentlessly turned upon the Christians in Syria and Palestine. By 1268 he had captured many of their towns, including Jaffa and Antioch. Whenever he took a town, he either slaughtered the inhabitants or sold them as slaves. In the end he sent so many to the slave-markets that the price of a young Christian girl fell to one drachma.

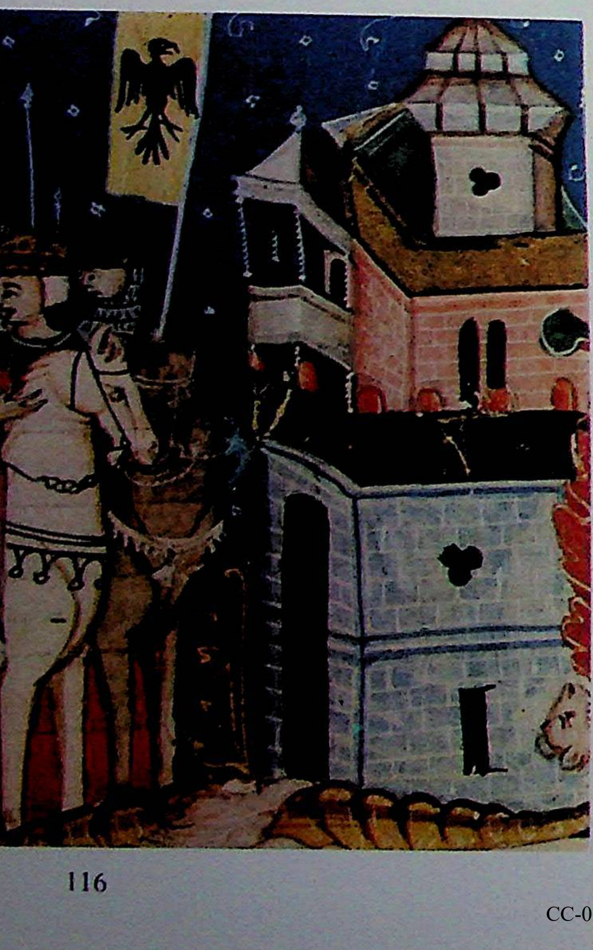
When St Louis heard of these terrible events, he resolved to go on another crusade. He set sail with a force in 1270, but again he did not go to the Holy Land. He allowed the crusade this time to be diverted to Tunis, because he believed a fantastic report that its Muslim Bey would become baptised as a Christian if the crusaders would come to protect him from the anger of his subjects. It is not certain whether this report was circulated by the Sultan Baibars or Charles of Anjou, who probably welcomed the chance of a campaign in North Africa.

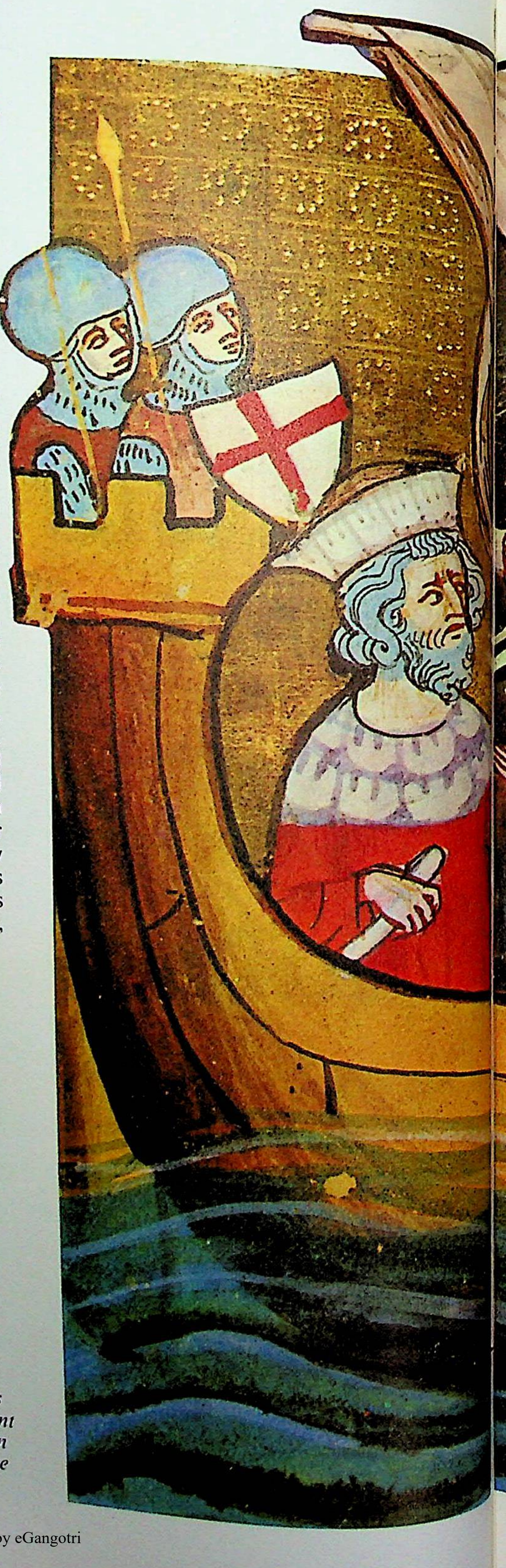
No sooner had the crusaders landed in North Africa in July than they were blockaded inside Carthage by the Bey of Tunis. They were short of water, and soon plague began to spread among them. By the end of August, St Louis himself was dead. Charles, landing shortly afterwards, immediately made peace with the Bey and led the survivors of his brother's army back to France.

Prince Edward of England

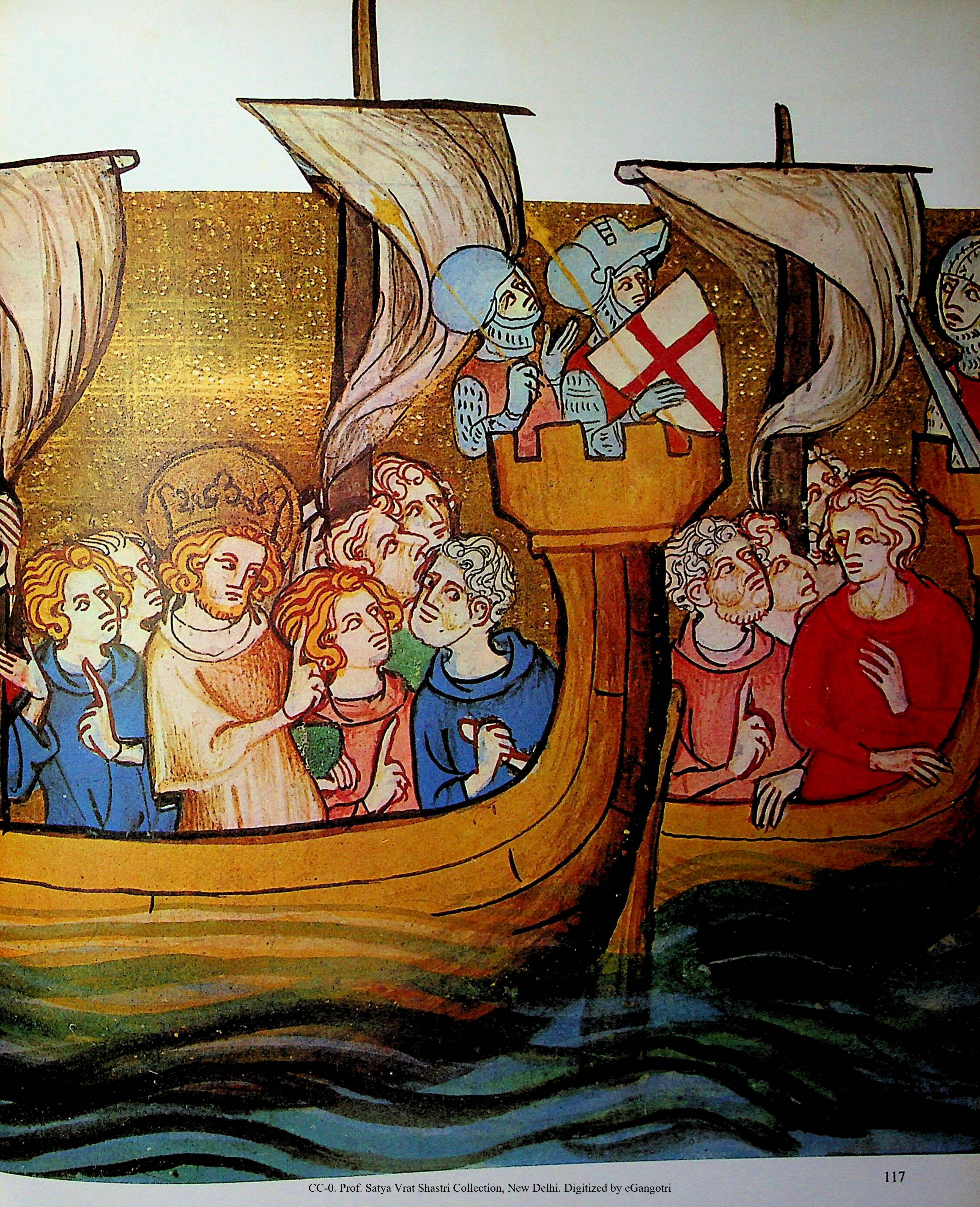
In the summer of 1270 Prince Edward, the son and heir of King Henry III of England, had set out with a small force to join his uncle, St Louis, in Tunis. Since St Louis was dead by the time he reached North Africa, Edward wintered in Sicily and then sailed on to Acre in the spring of 1271, hoping to gather a crusading army around him. He received little support from the barons and hostility from the Venetians and Genoese, who wished to continue their lucrative exports of weapons, armour and galley-slaves to Egypt. A year later he had to make a truce with Baibars and prepare to go home, but he intended to return with a large army.

Before Edward's departure, Baibars hired an assassin to stab him with a poisoned dagger. The prince was seriously ill, though the story that the future Queen Eleanor sucked poison from his wound was only written down a century later. While he was still ill in Acre, he learnt that his father was gravely ill, and when he got back to England, he found that the old king was dead.





Left: the mother of Hugh III of Lusignan, king of the island of Cyprus.
Right: after regaining his liberty, St Louis embarked for the Holy Land where he spent four years fortifying the strongholds still in Christian hands. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The end of the crusades

So Edward was now already king. For the rest of his life the conquest of Wales and the attempted conquest of Scotland kept him occupied. He had no time for a crusade, and no one else organised another. Hugh III of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, assumed the crown of Jerusalem, but the lukewarmness of the barons and the avidity of the Italian merchants made him as discouraged as Prince Edward had been. The ever-ready Charles of Anjou, encouraged by the Knights Templar, replaced Hugh of Lusignan in 1277, but before he could do anything his power in his own kingdom was destroyed by the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, a massacre of the French in Sicily provoked by discontent with his rule.

The Knights Templar had been anxious for Charles of Anjou to intervene in the Holy Land because the sultan, Baibars, after the fiasco of the Eighth Crusade, turned against the strongholds of the military orders. In 1271 he besieged Ḳrak of the Knights. Its garrison of Knights Hospitallers were experienced soldiers and fought with tenacity, but their numbers were only a sixth of what they had been earlier in the century, and they were hopelessly outnumbered.

The large perimeter of the outer ward was soon abandoned, but even so it was a month before one of the towers of the inner ward fell to the Muslims. The surviving knights then withdrew to the great redoubt. Baibars smuggled a forged letter into them, purporting to come from their commander at Tripoli and ordering them to surrender. They did so under promise of a safe-conduct to the coast. After that, many castles gave in to Baibars without making any sort of a struggle.

Sultan Baibars died in the same year that Charles of Anjou briefly accepted the crown of Jerusalem. He drank by mistake from a cup of poisoned wine which he himself had prepared for someone else. However, his successors were as determined to destroy the last vestiges of the Christian states in Syria. In 1289 Tripoli was sacked, and the port of Acre was the only notable stronghold left to the Christians. This was stormed after a siege of six weeks and stubborn fighting in the spring of 1291. All the inhabitants were either massacred or enslaved. For half a century the city remained a desolate ruin of rubble, inhabited only by beggars and the poorest peasants.

Within the next two months after the fall of Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and a few minor places capitulated without fighting. The crusading kingdom, save as an empty title, was at an end. There remained only the island of Cyprus, sold by Richard Lion-Heart to the Lusignans, whose family held it as a feudal monarchy until 1489, when it became a Venetian colony and was conquered by the Turks the next century. The same fate befell the island of Rhodes. After Palestine fell, the Knights Hospitallers went there and defended it against the Turks until they took it in 1523.

The forsaking of God

Islam was to continue to menace Europe. The Turks steadily advanced into the Balkans and in 1453 captured Constantinople. Pope Pius II subordinated all else to trying to arouse the European princes to the increasing danger, but got no response from them. Eventually their selfishness and lack of solidarity led him to take the initiative and proclaim a crusade, and in 1464 he resolved to put himself at the head of it. He gathered together a fleet of ships at Ancona on the Adriatic. By now he was old and sick, and on the day set for the departure he was carried in a covered litter down to his vessels. He was not told that neither princes nor armies followed him. He did not even know that most of his sailors had deserted their ships. He died that night on board ship in the harbour.

The idea of crusades to expel the infidel from the Holy Land had died hopelessly and finally. The Muslims now ruled over what had been for more than a thousand years eastern Christendom, the very cradle of the religion and the region of its earliest growth. Despite their high idealism and all the effort and courage they had inspired, these crusades had been thwarted by national rivalries and European disunity. 'The crusaders forsook God', a medieval chronicler said, 'before God forsook them.' Yet the crusading ideal was not everywhere without results. It gained its successes in Spain and Portugal, where the reconquest of these countries was part of the same movement of Christian expansion which produced the crusades.

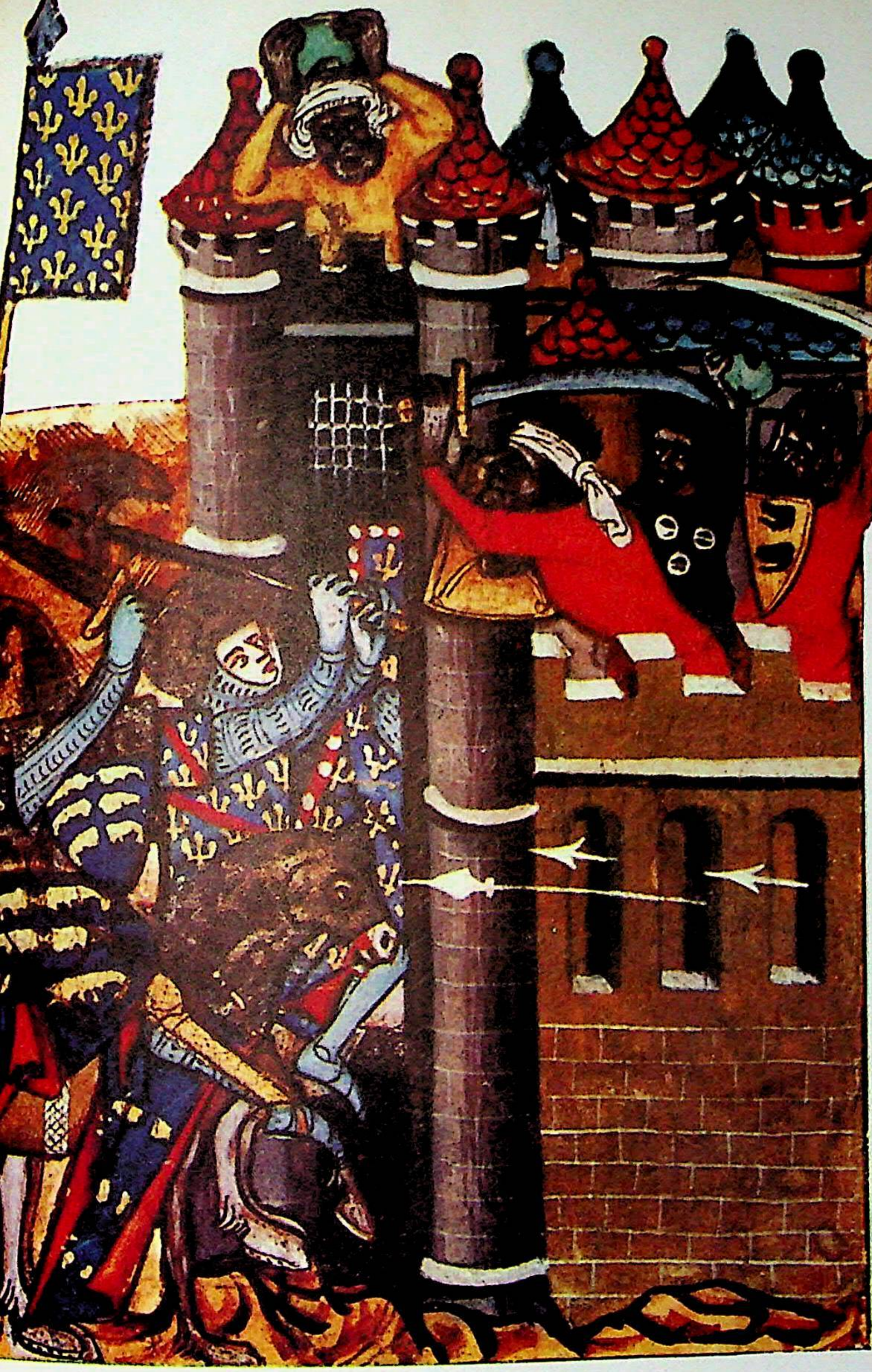
The Reconquest

The ninth and tenth centuries were for Muslim Spain, as for the Islamic world generally, its golden age. Its capital was Cordova, where the Caliph built a magnificent mosque second only to the mosques of Mecca. Spanish Christendom then consisted of a few surviving independent areas in the northern part of the peninsula where the people worshipped in low, cavernous churches barrel-vaulted like crypts.

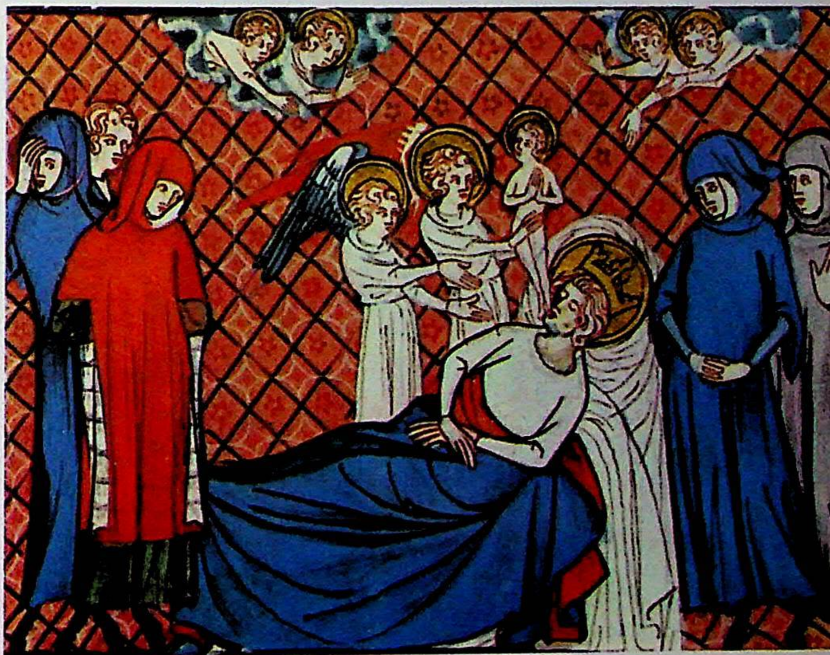
The next century, however, the Christian cause revived. The monks of Cluny organised pilgrimages to the great shrine of Santiago de Compostela in the remote north-west of Spain and made the road to it one of the great European pilgrim ways. With the monks and pilgrims came feudal knights, mostly Normans and Burgundians, to inspire the Reconquista, the war to reconquer the remainder of Spain from its Moorish rulers. Ten years before the First Crusade, the Spanish Christian captured Toledo with the help of Burgundian soldiers.

This was the beginning of the Spain of the Cid. Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar (c. 1043–1099), a nobleman of Castile, gained this name when the Moors called him *sidi* (lord). He was constantly fighting from 1065 and his greatest achievement was the capture of Valencia in 1094. Within a hundred years of his death, he became the hero of countless legends and romances chanted by wandering minstrels. He was for Spaniards the ideal of knightly virtue, patriotic duty and Christian grace displayed in their struggle against the Muslims.

In the twelfth century, some English and Flemish crusaders, sailing towards the Mediterranean for the Second Crusade, anchored at the mouth of the River Douro. They were persuaded by the local people to stay to fight the infidels there instead of sailing on to Palestine. So, instead of Edessa they stormed Lisbon, slaughtered the Muslim inhabitants, took over their



Twenty years after the taking of Damietta (left), St Louis undertook the Eighth Crusade, but he died of dysentery in Tunis in 1270 (below). In the same year, however, the Spanish crusaders drove the Muslims from all Spain except Granada. Miniatures. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



lands and founded the kingdom of Portugal.

The Reconquista was halted for a time in Spain during the twelfth century, partly because of rivalry between the Christians themselves. In the next century, however, the Christian advance was rapidly resumed, and by 1270, the year when St Louis died in Tunis, the Spanish crusaders had conquered all the country except Granada. This remained in Muslim occupation until 1492.

The American crusade

Though the capture of Granada brought to an end the age of the Cid in Spain, the spirit of the Spanish crusade was in many ways continued in the Spanish conquest of South and Central America which followed the voyage made by Christopher Columbus to the New World in the same year that Granada became Spanish. This too was waged as a crusade.

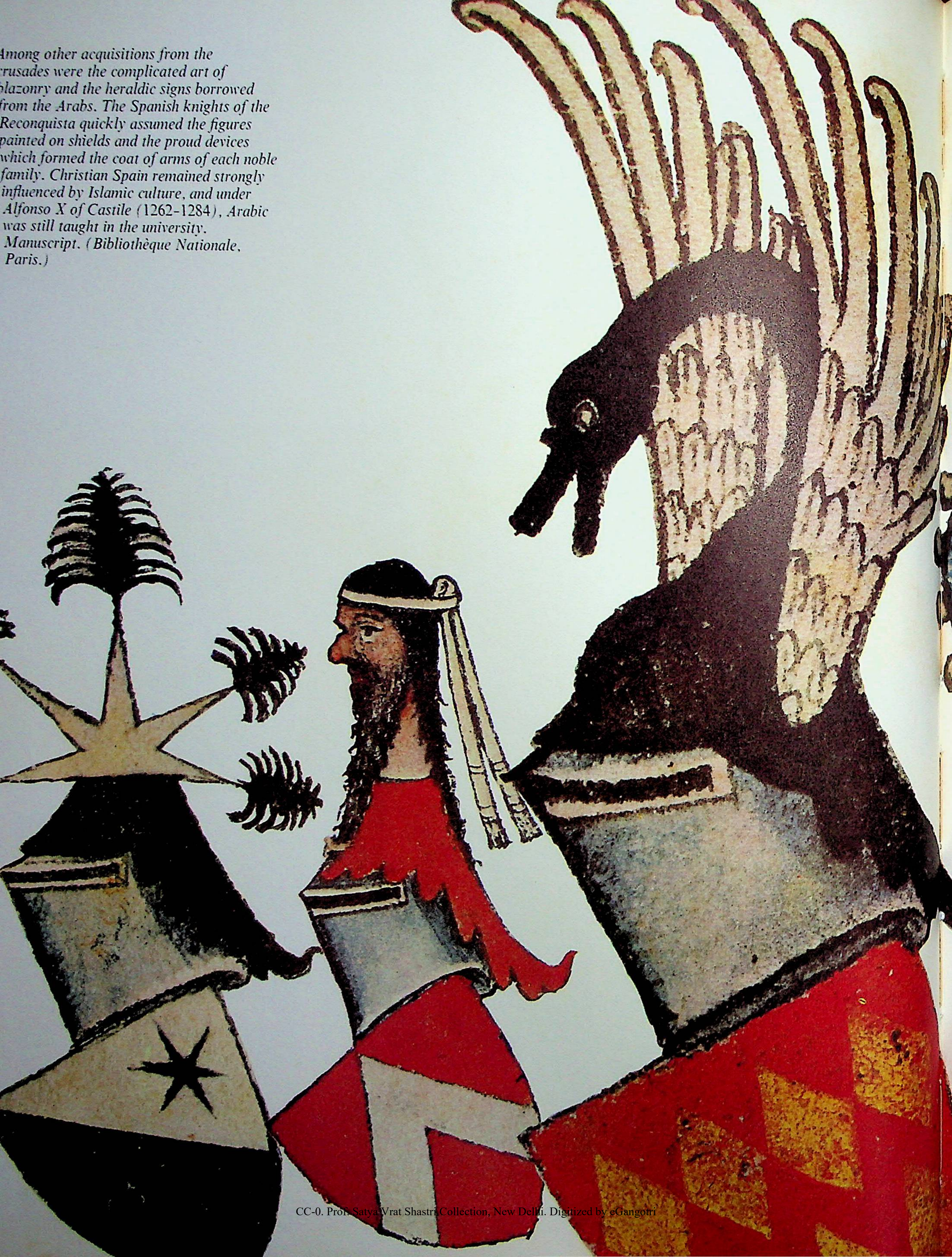
Spanish soldiers and administrators were accompanied across the Atlantic by monks and friars, who preached the duty of making the undertaking a 'spiritual conquest'. Just as the former crusaders in the East had been inspired by the Holy Lance and St George, so the conquistadors in the West were encouraged by visions of St James of Compostella on his white horse. After a great deal of bloodshed and brutality the idols of the Aztec Indians were thrown down, and their temples destroyed. Huge cathedrals and monasteries were built to uphold the Christian faith in the new lands and win over converts from their native peoples.

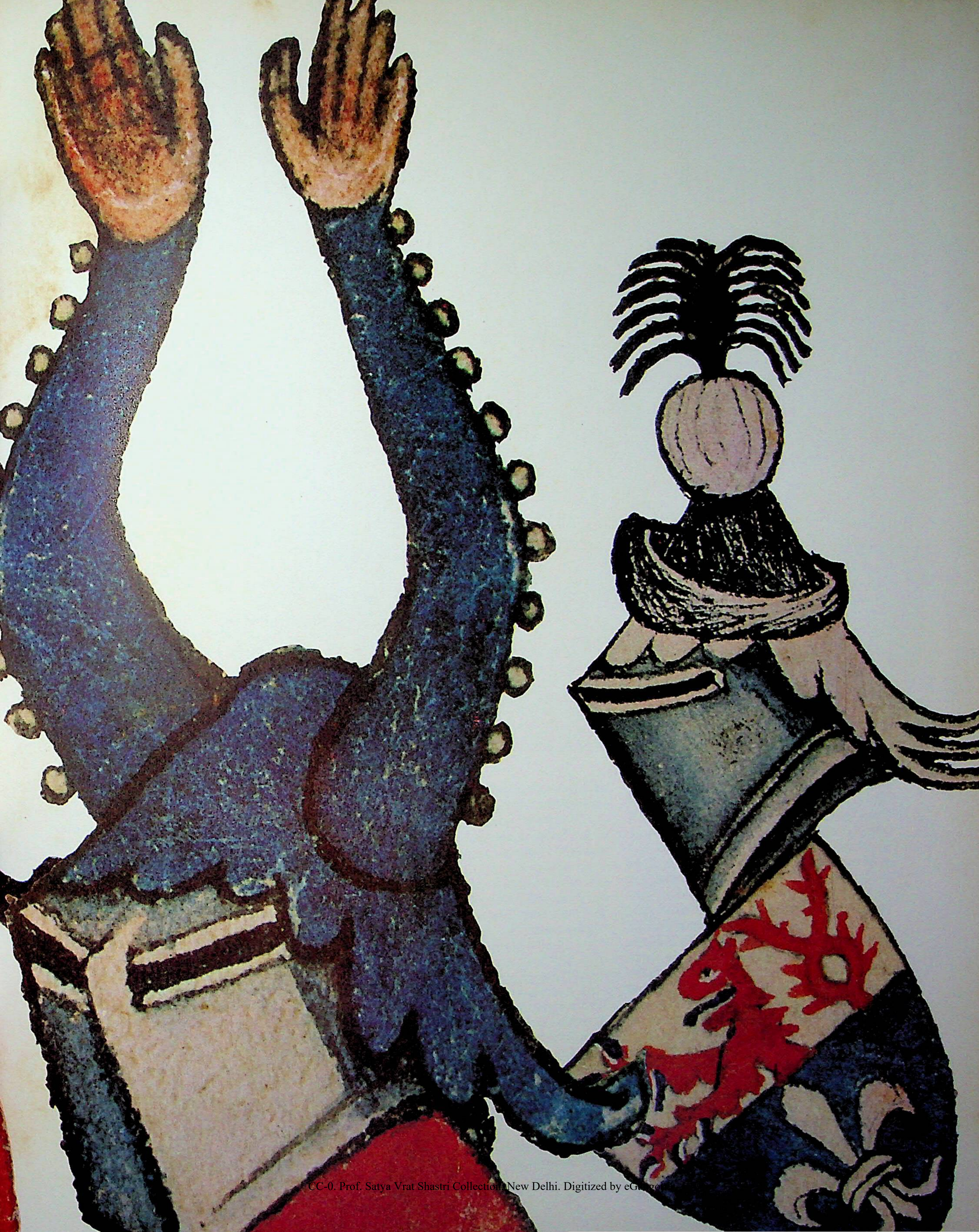
At the same time, there was the similar mixture of religious and material motives which had characterised the earlier crusades. 'We came to America', wrote one of the noble Spanish adventurers from his conquered estates in Guatemala, 'to serve God and become rich.' In fact, the Spaniards brought to the New World some of the ways of making wealth which Europe had learnt from the first crusades. Hernando Cortés established in Mexico the sugar-industry, which had been practised since these crusades in the Venetian and Genoese colonies of the eastern Mediterranean, and employed slave-labour on the plantations and in the mills in the same fashion as in these Levantine conquests.

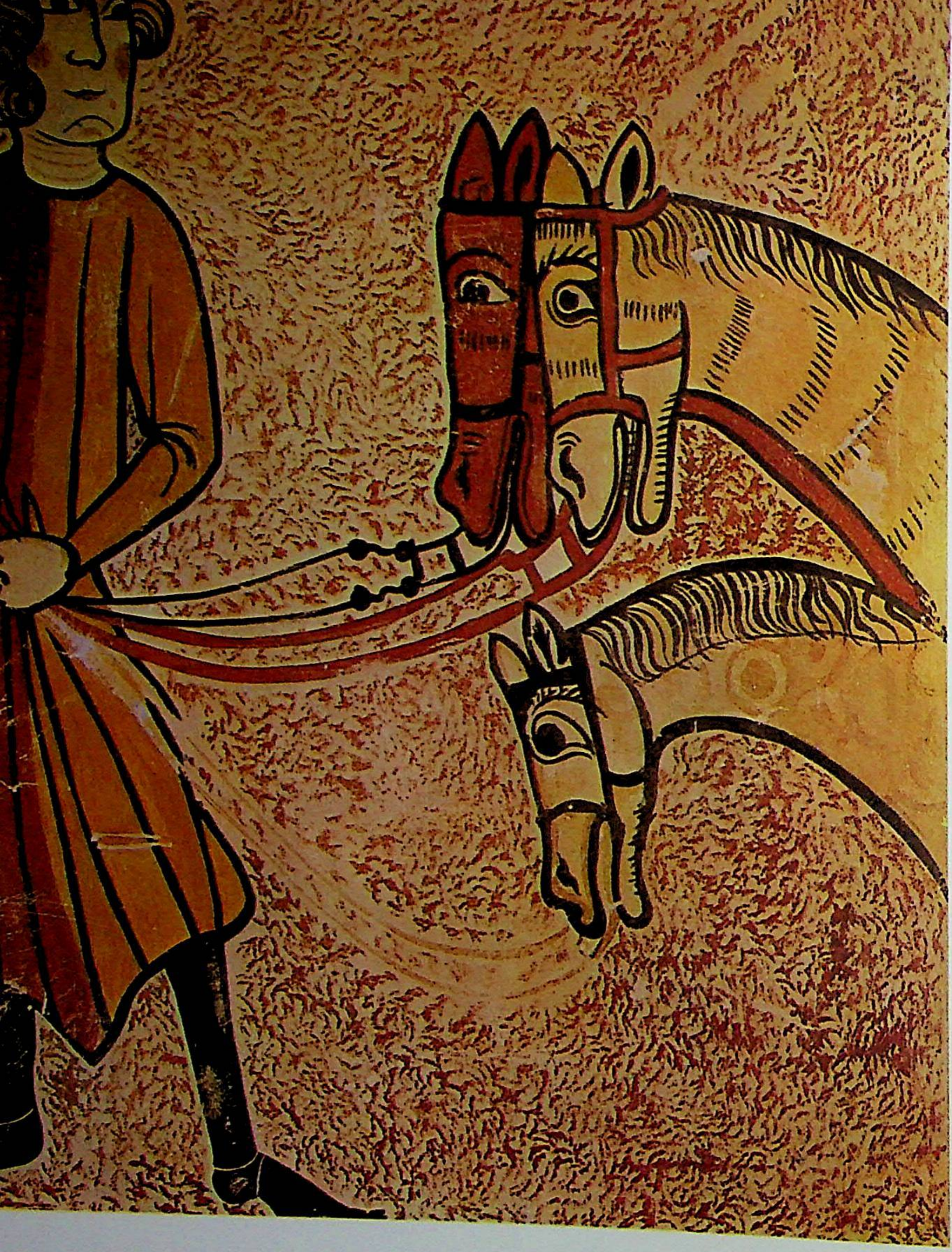
The crusaders and a wider world

Indeed, the crusades to the Holy Land, though so futile in attaining their avowed aims, played a very important part in making possible European expansion into the New World and elsewhere. The Italian trading cities, particularly the republics of Venice and Genoa, were quick to appreciate the commercial prospects opened up by the crusades. Their fleets brought the exports of the east to the countries of the west, and they

Among other acquisitions from the crusades were the complicated art of blazonry and the heraldic signs borrowed from the Arabs. The Spanish knights of the Reconquista quickly assumed the figures painted on shields and the proud devices which formed the coat of arms of each noble family. Christian Spain remained strongly influenced by Islamic culture, and under Alfonso X of Castile (1262-1284), Arabic was still taught in the university. Manuscript. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)







A Spanish squire leads his master's horses. The Reconquista was halted for a time in the twelfth century, but was rapidly resumed within a hundred years. It culminated with the conquest of Granada in 1492. This was the end of the Spain of the Cid. Fresco from Pernes. (Musée National des Monuments Français, Paris.)

were not hampered by any religious considerations, being prepared to send their ships both to Alexandria and the Christian ports of Acre and Tripoli and to exchange slaves for what they got from the Muslims.

In the thirteenth century the northerners of the European seaboard began to compete with the Italian merchants. The Baltic ports formed themselves into a Hanse or league, which was a virtual maritime republic with a grand master rather like that of the military orders. By the fifteenth century eighty-four cities had joined the Hanse, which had depots all over northern Europe, including several in England. It was now so powerful that it could defy kings and even popes.

Other sea-faring nations also were stimulated into action by the crusades. Among them was Portugal. Prince Henry of Portugal, who died in 1460, was the first European ruler to follow a deliberate policy of extending sea-trade and inspiring the discovery of new routes and markets. He systematically constructed a large merchant-fleet and encouraged map-makers and mathematicians to draw up maps and charts which were fuller and more accurate than any previously produced. His ships sailed to Madeira, the Azores and the Canaries and then on down the west coast of Africa to bring back slaves and mixed cargoes. In 1486 a Portuguese mariner, Bartholomew Diaz, reached the Cape of Good Hope. Less than ten years later, influenced by his Portuguese predecessors, Columbus set out on his important voyage.

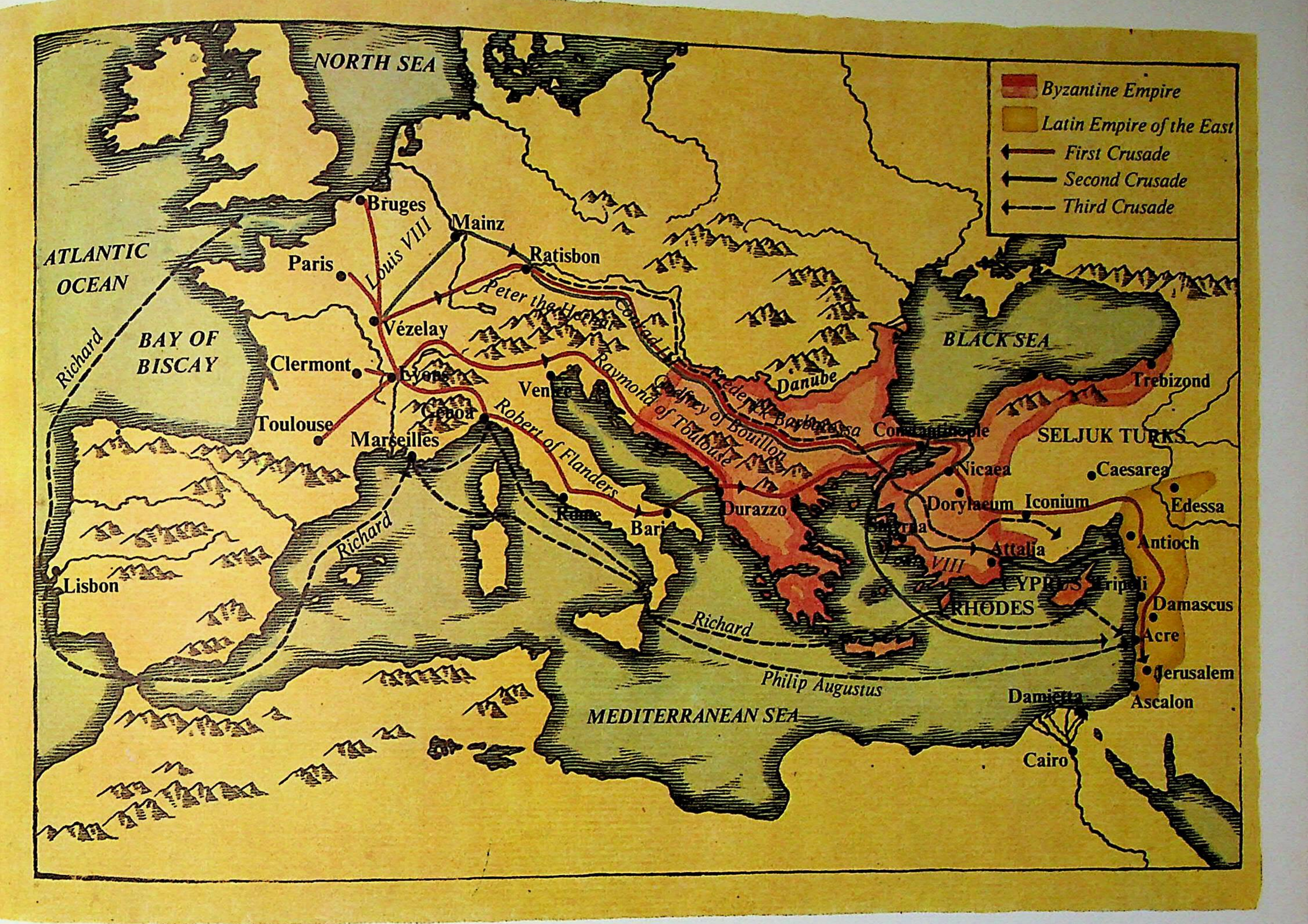
New luxuries for Europe

What were the things which European traders brought from the East? Among them were new spices and foodstuffs which introduced greater variety into the diet of many people. Previously most households ate bread made of wheat, rye or barley and such vegetables as peas, beans, onions and leeks. Meat was salted and usually not very fresh. Only the nobility, who had the right to hunt, could get fresh meat. For inland regions, the only fish available was dried cod. The crusaders introduced into Europe such spices as ginger, pepper, cloves and nutmeg, fruits like figs, dates and raisins, and also rice and almonds. Sugar was probably the most important innovation. Wealthy Europeans began to eat crystallised peaches, cakes covered with almond paste and fine sugar and cheese tarts flavoured with ginger and garnished with saffron.

Rugs and carpets instead of rushes on the floor came from the East, and so too did cushions and wall-hangings. The crusades also brought changes in costume and fashion. Ladies and gentlemen began to wear flowing robes made from such imported materials as silk, linen, velvet and brocade. Turbans were popular for a time and also slippers. The knowledge of dyeing came almost entirely from Syria. Noble European ladies adopted such cosmetics as rouge for the face and henna for the hair. They could also use glass mirrors, which came to the West through Constantinople, instead of polished metal discs. Aromatic scents for the dress and body also came in at this time from Syria. Finally, the habit of taking baths regularly, essential in the hot climate of the crusading lands, was re-introduced in Europe for the first time since the days of the Romans.

Castles and learning

Upon domestic and ecclesiastical architecture, except in the Moorish styles of Spain, contact with the Muslims brought little influence. It was, however, different with military architecture. Before the crusades, European castles were usually little more than a single square stone tower, perhaps set on a mound, and encircled by a wall and moat. The military orders learnt to build in Syria and Palestine much stronger and more elaborate castles. In these the main fortifications were enclosed by a series of circular walls, all set with turrets, rounded to prevent mining at the angles and arranged with

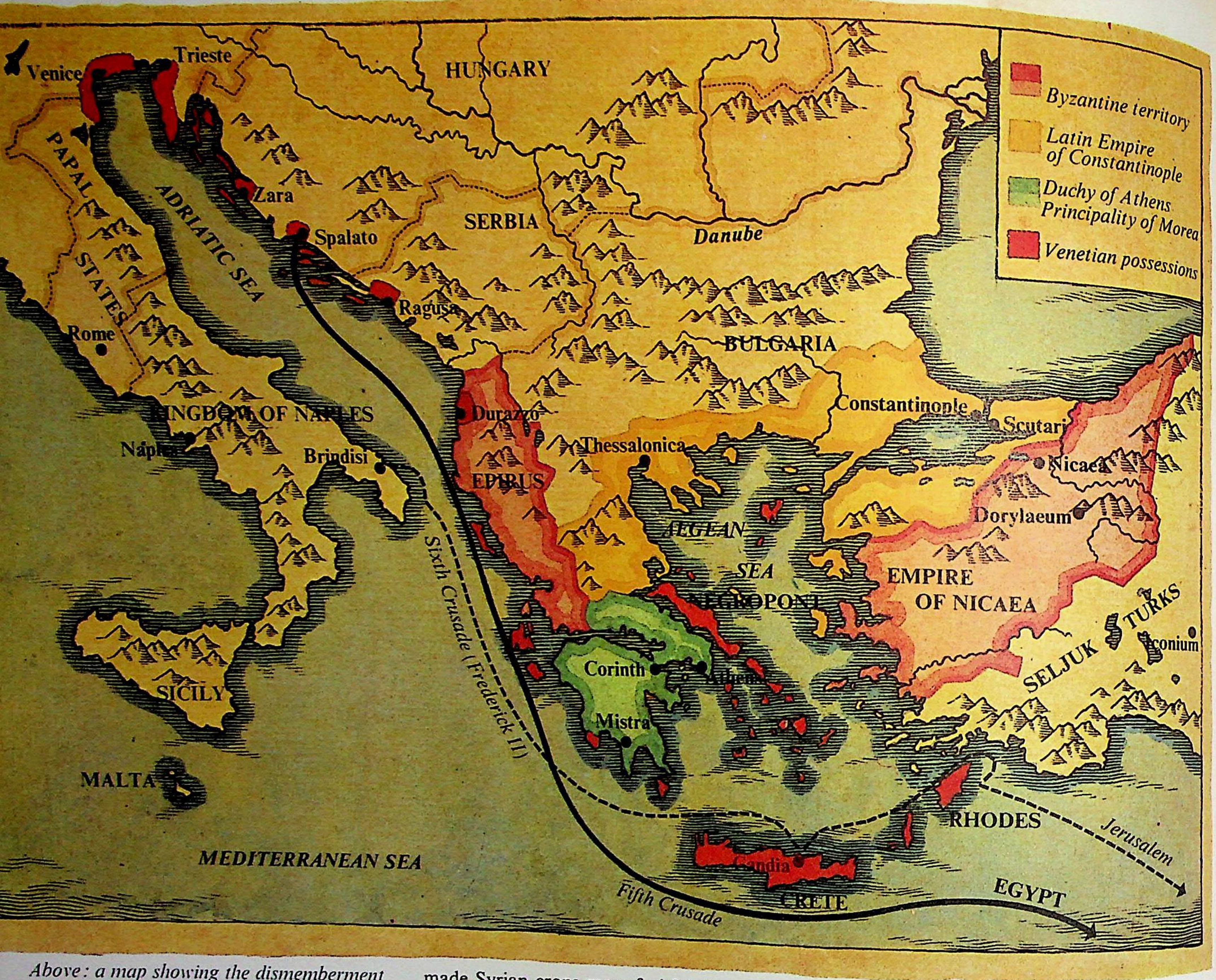

Byzantine Empire
Latin Empire of the East
First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
Richard
Bruges
Louis VIII
Mainz
Ratisbon
Paris
Vézelay
Peter the Hermit
Conrad III
Clermont
Lyons
Toulouse
Marseilles
Genoa
Venice
Raymond of Toulouse
Robert of Flanders
Frederick Barbarossa
Godfrey of Bouillon
Danube
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
Constantinople
SELJUK TURKS
Nicaea
Caesarea
Edessa
Dorylaeum
Iconium
Durazzo
Rome
Bari
Smyrna
Attalia
Antioch
Louis VIII
CYPRUS
Tripoli
RHODES
Damascus
Acre
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Damietta
Cairo
Lisbon
Richard
Richard
Philip Augustus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Above: a map showing the routes taken to the Middle East during the first three crusades. The crusaders wanted to recover the Holy Land from the Turks, who, fanatical and intolerant in their devotion to Islam, had persecuted Christian pilgrims trying to reach the Holy Places. The First Crusade was remarkably successful and resulted in the capture of Jerusalem.

lines of fire which enabled each to protect others from assault. Moreover, all the walls had projecting upper sections from which the defenders could counter-attack their opponents with molten pitch and Greek fire, another consequence of crusading experience. In England, King Edward I, who had been familiar with the castle at Acre, ordered the construction of such castles at Harlech, Caernarvon and Conway to keep in subjection the conquered Welsh.

Another military acquisition from the crusades was the complicated art of blazonry and heraldic signs which was taken from the Arabs. The crusaders at first painted these on their shields, but later embroidered them also on their surcoat or linen garment which they wore over their armour as a protection from the hot eastern sun. So these signs became known as 'coats of arms'. The Spanish knights of the Reconquista were especially quick to adopt these heraldic devices as part of their chivalry. They also took up a protective and proprietary attitude towards women which probably came from the influence of the Moorish harems.

Muslim influence was also strong upon the arts of peace in Europe. The Arabs believed strongly in education. In the year 970, a century before the First Crusade, they had nearly thirty free schools in Cordova alone for poor Moorish and Spanish scholars. Their universities in Spain, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries were attended by Christian students who returned and influenced the universities of Paris, Oxford and Italy. From the ancient Greeks, the Arabs studied philosophy and developed mathematics, and from India they evolved the numerals in use to-day. They invented the decimal notation, created algebra and developed spherical geometry. In physics, they were the first to use the pendulum, and they set up observatories with telescopes for their study of astronomy. In medicine, they pioneered the study of physiology and hygiene and used anaesthetics, such as opium and myrrh in surgical operations. As chemists, they discovered fertilisers which


Byzantine territory
Latin Empire of Constantinople
Duchy of Athens Principality of Morea
Venetian possessions
Venice
Trieste
HUNGARY
PAPAL STATES
ADRIATIC SEA
Zara
Spalato
SERBIA
Danube
Ragusa
Rome
BULGARIA
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
Brindisi
Durazzo
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Scutari
Nicaea
EPIRUS
Dorylaeum
AEGEAN SEA
NEGROPONT
EMPIRE OF NICAEA
SELJUK TURKS
Iconium
Sixth Crusade (Frederick II)
SICILY
Corinth
Athens
Mistra
MALTA
RHODES
Jerusalem
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
CRETE
EGYPT
Fifth Crusade

Above: a map showing the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire after the Fourth Crusade. The Christian West and the Byzantine Empire had been uneasy allies from the beginning and the crusaders showed little sympathy towards the Byzantines. The Fourth Crusade was completely diverted from its original purpose and the crusaders sacked Constantinople, dividing up the Byzantine Empire among themselves.

made Syrian crops more fruitful than any grown on European farms.

The Arabs also made a very practical contribution towards the spread of learning. This was the manufacture of paper from cotton, which they had learned from the Chinese, and the Europeans acquired it from them. Until that time, all books had to be written on parchment or papyrus, and after the Arab conquest of Egypt, Europe was deprived of its supplies of papyrus. The later development of printing would have been impossible without the existence of paper.

The crusades and feudalism

Finally, the crusades had an important effect upon the feudal system in western Europe. The condition of the barons underwent notable changes, particularly that of the smaller ones. Many of them had to mortgage their estates in order to raise money for crusading and lost them because they could not pay back the money-lenders. Others died in the Holy Land without male heirs so that their estates passed to daughters and then, by marriage, into other families. Generally speaking, the smaller baronial families were affected in this way, and many disappeared, but the larger ones remained.

At the same time, changes took place at the lower scale of feudalism. Between 1100 and 1300 many peasants were able to take advantage of baronial difficulties and increasing general prosperity to exchange by purchase their condition of serfdom for one of greater independence and freedom. Towns and cities also were able to buy privileges which freed them from the control of a feudal overlord. In England, Richard Lion-Heart, in order to raise money for his crusading expeditions, sold many municipal charters which gave boroughs valuable rights of self-government.

The crusades also emphasised to the rulers of Europe the value in any long campaign of a large army under a single command. National armies were now needed instead of small, territorial, feudal forces. Gradually feudalism was being replaced by nationalism.

Chronological Charts

WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

	France	England	Germany	Italy
1000 1050	Robert II the Pious (996–1031) Henry I (1031–60)	Canute (1016–35) Edward the Confessor, last Anglo-Saxon king (1042–66)	Henry II (1002–24) Conrad II (1024–39) Henry III (1039–56)	The Normans in Italy Benedict IX (1032–44)
1100	Philip I (1060–1108)	Battle of Hastings (1066) Norman conquest William the Conqueror (1066–87) William II (1087–1100)	Henry IV (1056–1106) Henry IV excommunicated (1076)	Investiture Controversy Gregory VII (1073–85) Canossa (1077) Normans sack Rome (1084) Urban II (1088–99)
1150	Louis VI the Fat (1108–37) Louis VII (1137–80)	Henry I (1100–35) Stephen (1135–54) Matilda proclaimed queen (1141)	Henry V (1106–25) Concordat of Worms Conrad III (1138–52) founder of the Hohenstaufen dynasty	First Lateran Council (1123) Republican rising in Rome (1143)
1200	Marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry Plantagenet (1152) Philip II Augustus (1180–1223)	Henry II Plantagenet (1154–89) Assize of Clarendon (1166) Murder of Thomas Becket (1170) Richard I (1189–99)	Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90) Henry VI (1190–97)	Frederick Barbarossa seizes Milan (1154) and Rome (1167) Alexander III (1159–81) Victor IV, Pascal III and Calixtus III anti-popes Peace of Constance (1183)
1250	French victory at Bouvines (1214) Accession of Louis IX Albigensian Crusade	John (1199–1216) Magna Carta (1215) Henry III (1216–72)	Otto IV (1198–1215) Frederick II (1215–50)	Frederick II invades the Papal States
1300	Treaty of Paris (1259) Death of Louis IX at Tunis (1270)	Battle of Lewes (1264) Edward I (1272–1307)	The Great Interregnum (1250–73)	Charles of Anjou ruler of Naples and Sicily (1266–85) Sicilian Vespers (1282)

THE CRUSADES AND THE FRANKISH STATES

	Crusades	Frankish States	Islam
050			
	Urban II preaches the First Crusade (1095) First Crusade (1095–99) Capture of Jerusalem (1099)	Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem established (1099)	Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor
1100			
	Crusaders capture Tyre (1124) Second Crusade (1147–49)	Godfrey of Bouillon 'defender of the Holy Sepulchre' Baldwin I (1100–18) Baldwin II (1118–31) Fulk I (1131–43) Baldwin III (1143–62)	Nureddin, atabeg of Mosul Muslims capture Edessa (1144)
1150			
	Third Crusade (1190–92)	Amalric I (1162–74) Baldwin IV (1174–83) Baldwin V (1183–86) Guy of Lusignan (1186–87) End of Latin kingdom of Jerusalem	Nureddin takes Damascus (1154) End of the Fatimids of Cairo Saladin captures Jerusalem (1187)
1200			
	Fourth Crusade (1202–04) Children's Crusade (1212) Fifth Crusade (1217–21) Sixth Crusade (1228–29) Frederick II recovers Jerusalem (1228) Treaty of Jaffa (1229) Seventh Crusade (1248–54)	Crusaders found Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204)	Mongols arrive in Mesopotamia Turks recapture Jerusalem (1248)
1250			
	Eighth Crusade (1270)	Loss of Tyre, Acre, Sidon, and Beirut End of the Frankish States (1291)	Baibars, sultan of the Mamelukes (1260–77) Baibars defeats crusaders in Syria
1300			

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Acknowledgments

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